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# USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 7, May 1984

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19 July 1984

## USSR REPORT TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 7, May 1984

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

### CONTENTS

|                                                                                                       |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| To the Journal KOMMUNIST .....                                                                        | 1   |
| K. U. Chernenko's 25 April 1984 Speech .....                                                          | 3   |
| K. U. Chernenko's 29 April 1984 Speech .....                                                          | 9   |
| Complying With the Leninist Principles of Developing<br>the People's Education<br>(M. Zimyanin) ..... | 20  |
| The Way They Were<br>(Nikolay Proshunin) .....                                                        | 40  |
| Social Impact of the Press<br>(S. Tsukasov) .....                                                     | 54  |
| Innovations in Management and Economic Experimentation<br>(A. Prigozhin) .....                        | 65  |
| Warmth of the Cold Taymyr<br>(V. Kadulin) .....                                                       | 79  |
| Year Before the Victory<br>(V. Arkhipenko) .....                                                      | 95  |
| Equal Negotiations and Not Military Antagonism<br>(L. Tolkunov) .....                                 | 109 |
| Marxism's Revolutionary Method<br>(B. Slavin) .....                                                   | 124 |

|                                                                              |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Economics of Developed Socialism<br>(A. Aganbekyan) .....                    | 131 |
| Ideal and Life<br>(V. Markov) .....                                          | 139 |
| Art in the Capitalist World: The Struggle of Ideas<br>(A. Vishnevskiy) ..... | 143 |
| Short Book Reviews<br>(I. Sukhov) .....                                      | 148 |
| In the Forefront of the Ideological Struggle .....                           | 150 |



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TO THE JOURNAL KOMMUNIST

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 84 (signed to press 3 May 84) p 3

[CPSU Central Committee congratulations]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee warmly congratulates the editorial collegium, the entire staff of the journal KOMMUNIST, its authors' aktiv and its readership on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the publication of its first issue.

Founded by decision of the RKP(b) Central Committee, the journal BOL'SHEVIK, subsequently KOMMUNIST, played an outstanding role in the party's ideological activities. It has always been a rostrum for progressive Marxist-Leninist thinking and a passionate propagandist of revolutionary theory and party policy. Loyal to the traditions of creative Marxism and Leninist ideas, the journal is a tested combat aide of the CPSU in its revolutionary-transforming activities and in resolving problems of socialist and communist construction.

The journal's contribution to the development of the theory of scientific communism is significant. It draws attention above all on the variety of problems of developed socialism and the ways to its advancement. It persistently promotes the implementation of the stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, and the implementation of the party's line of comprehensively enhancing the level of socialist economic management, organization and discipline and cadre efficiency and responsibility. Its daily close ties with party committees and organizations and broad readership masses enables it comprehensively to sum up the rich experience of party ideological and political work and actively to participate in the communist upbringing of the working people and the mobilization of their initiative and energy for further strengthening the economic and defense potential of the Soviet state.

The materials published in KOMMUNIST, which offer a scientific interpretation of topical problems of development of the socialist commonwealth, the world revolutionary process and the struggle of the peoples for peace, democracy and social progress and against the adventuristic actions of aggressive imperialist forces, trigger the constant lively interest of the readers in our country and abroad. The journal assigns a notable position in its work to the systematic assertion of the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism and the exposure of the exploitive nature of the bourgeois social system and anti-Sovietism and anticommunism.

The 60th anniversary of KOMMUNIST is a major event in the party's ideological life. The CPSU Central Committee expresses its firm confidence that the journal will continue actively to participate in party ideological-theoretical activities, to study profoundly the vital problems of social development, convincingly to disseminate Marxism-Leninism and the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state and to spread among the masses the invincible ideas of communism. Unquestionably, the journal will comprehensively defend the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory, will persistently debunk the bourgeois way of life and will struggle against hostile ideology and opportunistic and revisionist attacks on real socialism.

The CPSU Central Committee warmly wishes the editorial collegium, the entire KOMMUNIST staff and its authors and readers further successes in our common struggle for the triumph of the revolutionary doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the ideals of peace and communism.

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K. U. CHERNENKO'S 25 APRIL 1984 SPEECH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 84 (signed to press 3 May 84) pp 4-8

[Speech by K. U. Chernenko at the 25 April 1984 session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission for Drafting the New Text of the CPSU Program]

[Text] Comrades:

We have gathered today to discuss the course of preparing the new draft of the CPSU Program. I think that it would be unnecessary to prove the tremendous importance of this matter, for it is a question of the party's principal ideological-theoretical and political document.

I have studied the suggestions relative to the new party program draft. Clearly, in accordance with the resolutions and stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums, some work has already been done. However, a great deal remains to be accomplished.

It is precisely this that I would like to discuss.

The crux of the matter is to define the level of socioeconomic maturity of the new society we have reached. The party documents issued in recent years contain a conclusion of essential importance, to the effect that we are at the beginning of a historically long period--the developed socialist stage. It is precisely this which defines the nature of the current and long-term tasks of the party and the Soviet people. Under contemporary conditions our program must be one of perfecting developed socialism. It is precisely this which determines the essence of the current and long-term tasks of the party and the Soviet people. Under contemporary conditions our program must be one of advancing developed socialism. It is in the course of advancing developed socialism that the gradual progress toward communism takes place. We must proceed from this in all our party work, including the efforts to develop the consciousness of the masses.

This approach to the matter enables us to eliminate the appearance of disparities between individual stipulations of the current program and the actual course of social development and the accumulated experience of the masses and to surmount once and for all the simplistic ideas of the means and time needed for a transition to the higher communist phase, which existed at one time. The new draft of the program must facilitate the solution of this problem of exceptional importance from the political viewpoint.

The program must provide a realistic and comprehensively weighed characterization of developed socialism. It must reflect our achievements and advantages and the tremendous opportunities which socialism offers at the new historical stage. We have something to tell our people, something to be proud of. It is important to us to include in the program a summarization of everything best that we have actually achieved both from the viewpoint of political education work within the country and the ideological struggle we are waging in the international arena.

However, we must also indicate the difficult problems which confront society and not be carried away by a description of merely the benefits which full communism will bring, for, as Lenin said, if the attention is turned to the "relatively distant, beautiful and rosy future" the immediate tasks of the difficult specific transition and approach to this future are frequently ignored (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 180). In other words, we must proceed from the reality of today, from what has been confirmed by practice, social thought and the collective experience of the masses. Let me remind you, comrades, that it is precisely the realism of the party's programmatic stipulations that Lenin considered as tremendously important, believing that "this and this alone will constitute the captivating power of our program" (op. cit., vol 36, p 66).

Naturally, the program must clearly depict the prospects and the end objectives to which we aspire. However, this is also a program which must point the path to the future and open new social horizons. Its main emphasis must be on the historically visible future and the objectives obtainable by the present generations.

The new draft of the program must offer a clear idea of these objectives. We must indicate that on the way to the communist ideal we must fully make the socialist ideal a reality. We must convincingly show its tremendous vital strength and greatness and its social justice.

The program must comprehensively avoid unsubstantiated promises and predictions promising quick and easy successes. It must encourage extensive and highly stressed efforts to perfect socialism. In other words, it must call for a search for the specific means of resolving the comprehensive and difficult problems created by our very life, problems which, in terms of their nature and origin, naturally apply to one stage or another of the first phase of the communist system. It is in the course of this work that our society and people will reach ever new heights on the way to communism.

Let me make particular mention of quantitative indicators and deadlines. I assume that, naturally, no one among us intends to request the Gosplan or any other organization to name a specific date when the stage of developed socialism will end. As all of us agree, in this document we must not misuse figures or provide all sorts of details. Such enthusiasm, as Lenin cautioned, could only harm us and "tie our hands with specifics. Yet our hands must be free in order to create the new with greater strength..." (op. cit., vol 34, p 376).



It would be undesirable to overload the program with all kinds of details for other reasons as well. It is important for the main features not to be drowned in petty matters and for the main line of development to be clearly visible.

The main content of the program in its new draft must consist not of quantitative but of the most essential qualitative characteristics of our dynamically developing society. Naturally, quantitative indicators as well could be and are used as guidelines in economic and social development. They are set in our five-year plans and long-term target programs. Incidentally, the formulation of one such program--the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress in the USSR for 1986-2005--has long been under way. Better use should be made of it in providing a scientific substantiation of the party program. In other words, it should be used in checking its stipulations against the latest scientific conclusions and specific scientific and technical, economic and social estimates.

The party program must be clear, precise and as brief as possible, so that it could be easily mastered and absorbed and become the ideological compass in the life of every party member and Soviet person. This is particularly important in terms of the young party reinforcements and, in general, of our youth. We can always expand the program's concise formulas in scientific publications, articles, textbooks and our entire propaganda work.

Naturally, nor should we fall into the other extreme of making the program, as Lenin said, a "general Marxist declaration," a document totally lacking a specific view on the subject (see op. cit., vol 16, p 232).

We do not have to fear this, for the program, as is already clear, will include a number of new stipulations which reflect the conclusions of contemporary Marxist-Leninist thinking, the experience of our and the fraternal parties and the reality of global processes.

It is particularly clear today that work on the new edition of the program is no simple matter. In the "new edition" formula I would emphasize the word "new." We should not be bothered by the fact that it is not a question of drafting a different program. It is a fact that we do not need a different program, for the strategic tasks directly related to building communism have not as yet been carried out. That is why we speak only of a new draft of the Third Party Program.

I would like to mention a few, naturally most general, considerations relative to the structure and the central problems of the document under preparation.

I believe that the short introduction should sum up a description of the results of the distance covered by our party and briefly depict world developments and the most important characteristics of the contemporary revolutionary process.

This must be followed by a description of the topical problems which face Soviet society and the strategic objectives of the CPSU in the area of the country's domestic development.

The steady enhancement of the people's well-being was and remains an invariable programmatic CPSU stipulation. Hence the prime importance of the task of creating a highly efficient economy and the foundations for the increasingly better satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of the Soviet people and the increased power of our state. The program must clearly earmark the party's course of comprehensive practical utilization of the latest scientific and technical achievements, the perfecting of forms of management and the development of the initiative and labor activeness of the masses, which determine all our successes to a decisive extent. The idea of the merger of the two revolutions--the scientific and technical and the social--must be properly reflected in the CPSU program.

Naturally, the program should also stipulate that the classless socialist society is one of the most important landmarks in the development of the new socioeconomic system. It must emphasize that the contemporary working class was and will remain the leading force in the establishment of a classless structure.

The establishment of a classless socialist society, which will become a major stage on the way to total social homogeneity, will unquestionably entail essential changes in the entire superstructure. In this connection, we must particularly mention the state, the forms of socialist self-management by the people, and the intensified and systematic development of the really democratic nature of our system in all areas of social life.

Naturally, the nature of the national problem under the conditions of mature socialism must be brought to light. We must illumine the future of the nations, which is based on the objective process of internationalization of social life and their gradual but steady rapprochement.

We must also speak out on a problem of key importance to us: the shaping of the new man, the harmoniously developed individual. This could be one of the leading topics in the program. Here again we must avoid any idealizing, anticipation and beautiful yet empty words.

The party topic must be a rallying, a central topic. For our entire program is a program which brings to light the party's strategy and tactics, principles of activity and place and role in the political system of Soviet society. It is important to show that the increased leading role of the party and the intensification of socialist democracy are a single, integral and natural process.

Unquestionably, the program must contain a characterization of the course of the historical competition between socialism and capitalism. We have no doubt at all that in the final account socialism will win in this competition and that the ratio of forces in the international arena will be steadily changing in favor of socialism and peace. This must be clearly expressed. However, while we emphasize the historical doom of contemporary capitalism, we must take into consideration that under the conditions of its general crisis as well it still retains substantial and far from exhausted development reserves.

It is extremely important, comrades, not to lose what science and practical life briefly define as "measure."

It is clear to all of us, for example, that problems of the country's internal development must have a leading position in the program, for in the final account, our successes in foreign policy and in the struggle for peace depend precisely on their resolution and so does, as a whole, the course of competition with capitalism.

Nor should a feeling of measure be ignored in presenting materials relative to international affairs. The main feature here is the study of the external conditions under which our party must act. These are fast-changing and complex conditions. Therefore, in speaking of the trends in the development of the international situation, we must be particularly concerned with seeing to it that all evaluations and positions formulated in the new draft of the program contain a reliable reserve of durability, so to say.

Obviously, the program must emphasize that concern for further strengthening unity and cohesion among the members of the socialist commonwealth and strengthening the positions of world socialism was and remains a primary concern of the CPSU. Our further successes will be largely determined by the firmness of our fraternal alliance and reliability and extent of comprehensive cooperation.

Success in the struggle for safeguarding peace will greatly depend on the cohesion among the members of the socialist commonwealth. The program must clearly define the significance of the struggle for peace under the circumstances of the increased threat of war. We must clearly express our dedicated loyalty to the cause of peace and our aspiration, together with the other fraternal parties in the socialist commonwealth, to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. This is on the one hand. On the other, we must clearly promote the idea that the problems of war and peace as well as, as a matter of fact, all global problems, do not exist by themselves. They are inseparable from the social contradictions in the world and the development of the class struggle.

Therefore, we must present a general picture of the processes which are changing the social aspect of the world. We must depict it in large and expressive strokes, with no attempts to anticipate details of future global developments.

Understandably, the development of the global revolutionary process must be interpreted from the positions of our invariable solidarity with the worker, national liberation, and other progressive movements and reveal our understanding of proletarian internationalism.

Unquestionably, we must develop the thesis to the effect that the CPSU, like the other Marxist-Leninist parties of the members of the socialist commonwealth, considers itself an inseparable part of the international communist movement. Like all other fraternal parties, we want to play an active part in it and comprehensively to contribute to its growth and successes. Hence



our interest in making it rely more strongly on Marxist-Leninist science and master more profoundly the experience of victorious socialist revolutions and real socialism. Every word of the CPSU, its programmatic words even more so, is quite authoritative to communists the world over. Therefore, these words must be chosen most carefully.

Unquestionably, the new CPSU draft program will meet with broad international response. It will be discussed not by our friends alone. Therefore, in working on the draft of this most important party document, we must bear in mind that it is scheduled to play an important part in the global ideological struggle.

Comrades, you naturally understand that the writing of a new program draft is an overall summation. We shall have to harness the party's collective thinking and experience. Therefore, once the draft document has been prepared, it would be expedient to submit it to one of the regular Central Committee plenums and subsequently to ensure its wide discussion within the party. This could be accomplished during the preCongress accountability and election campaign, which would substantially enrich its content.

Such are some of the considerations I have wanted to share with you.

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K. U. CHERNENKO'S 29 APRIL 1984 SPEECH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 84 (signed to press 3 May 84) pp 9-17

[K. U. Chernenko's speech at a meeting with workers from the Serp i Molot Metallurgical Plant in Moscow]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

I value highly the opportunity of meeting with you, for you represent a large detachment of the working class, which is standing at the leading edge of the struggle for the accelerated development of the country's economy.

Particularly characteristic these days in terms of the sociopolitical atmosphere in which our people live and work is the collective creative search for a solution to imminent problems and for efficiency and exigency. The beneficial changes which are taking place in all fields of life are meeting with nationwide support.

The decisions of the February and April Central Committee plenums and the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, are directed toward strengthening and developing this atmosphere. They lead us to organized and intensive work in all directions of building communism.

We are meeting on the eve of May Day. On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet government I warmly greet you and all Soviet people on the occasion of this great holiday of work and peace (sustained applause).

I am deeply grateful for your warmth and frankness. I see in them a manifestation of inflexible trust in our communist party and its Central Committee.

The Leninist tradition of direct contacts with the working people has always lived in our party.

I recall the strong impression which Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov gained after his meeting with Moscow's machine tool builders. He repeatedly cited the views of the workers and the thoughts which they expressed at the plant in considering the difficult problems raised by reality.

Such meetings are exceptionally important and, I would say, very useful. Our present talk as well makes it possible to feel the country's labor pulse beat better. A number of problems which may appear to be familiar have now been formulated even more clearly.

Comrades!

The name of your triple order-bearing enterprise combines the historical symbols of the land of the soviets: the hammer and sickle. The plant workers were in the front ranks of the revolutionary fighters and builders of the state of the working people. In the chronicles of socialist industrialization Serp i Molot is inscribed as one of the champions of high-quality metallurgy.

The Central Committee well knows that the plant's collective and its party organization approach the solution of the problems confronting our economy with a feeling of high responsibility.

The Serp i Molot metallurgical workers successfully fulfilled their 1983 assignments and high obligations. The plant maintained a good level of work during the first quarter of this year as well. What is important is that the plan for the growth of labor productivity was overfulfilled by more than 4 percent. This is a good beginning and, as the people say, a good beginning is half of the matter.

The technical retooling of sectors and the utilization of the latest achievements of science and progressive experience assume particular importance at the present stage. This is an urgent demand of the times, an imperative of the age, one could say. It is topical also because, considering the existing demographic situation, we cannot rely on the type of influx of labor resources as we have had so far.

It is not for nothing that metal is described as the "bread of industry." You probably know that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo passed a special decree on the technical advancement of ferrous metallurgy. We consider here as the main feature the systematic increase in the production of high quality and economical metal goods. Otherwise we cannot achieve the required major change in machine building, construction and other sectors.

One of the most important ways to resolve this key problem is the reconstruction, the updating of productive capital. Your collective has taken precisely this path skillfully and energetically.

Let us frankly say that it is no easy matter to breathe essentially new life into a metallurgical enterprise located virtually in the center of Moscow. The plant cannot expand yet it must not stop its output. Furthermore, the stricter requirements of environmental protection must be punctiliously observed.

Let us give credit to plant specialists, workers, designers and builders. As was reported to me, they found good, technically and economically substantiated variants for the reconstruction of operating shops, combined with the installation of new capacities. A great deal has already been accomplished in the contemporary complexes producing high-quality goods, including items which we were forced to purchase abroad only recently. Working conditions have been substantially improved.

More than 40 assembly lines have been installed and 1,200 workers have been relieved from labor-intensive operations. Today they are employed at comprehensively mechanized and automated sectors. The plant's labor productivity has increased by 22 percent.

Briefly, these are fruitful and convincing results. They enable us to say with full justification that the collective of Serp i Molot is setting a good example of how to implement party and government decisions: responsibly and with discipline (applause).

Naturally, a great deal of effort was demanded of you. This cannot be avoided if a project is taken up properly and carried out "strictly energetically," as Lenin said. In order to complete everything planned a great deal more work will be required. However, the collective of Serp i Molot knows how to work and, I believe, will be able to cope with this task.

The results we are mentioning today would have been impossible without the constant attention and great practical assistance given to you by the Moscow City Party Committee and the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and without the daily active efforts of the plant's party organization.

Let me point out another pleasing fact for the entire economy: a certain upsurge in the entire metallurgical industry has been noted. Efficient competition has been launched among enterprise collectives. The socialist pledges for the first quarter of this year were fulfilled. The task is for this pace to be absolutely consolidated and accelerated even further.

Comrades said here today that you are concerned with the question of the prestige of the metallurgical profession. Unquestionably, your work is distinguished by increased stress and difficulty and its prestige should be enhanced.

Ministries, departments, soviet bodies and trade unions as well as our mass information media should see to it that the work of the people managing the hot shops is satisfactory and properly valued.

Quite accurately, in the course of the reconstruction of your plant, new amenities, cafeterias, preventive treatment centers, training workshops and a Pioneer camp were commissioned. I was pleased to find out that as many nurseries and kindergartens as were necessary were completed. Every year hundreds of families of Serp i Molot metallurgical workers celebrate moving into new quarters. In a word, possibilities for highly productive toil and proper relaxation and for the training and education of the labor replacements are broadening.

Let me repeat that the achievements of the collective are unquestionable and deserve the highest praise. However, I am confident that you will consider a discussion on shortcomings as well properly and as workers should. Such shortcomings, as you yourselves know, do exist.

Unfortunately, the plant is not fully fulfilling its contractual obligations for commodity procurements. This creates breakdowns in the work of other collectives. One must not let fellow workers down and the situation must be decisively improved.

Another task of essential importance is to recover outlays for reconstruction and installation of new capacities more quickly. A good production manager ensures the rapid turnover and returns from every ruble. Briefly, he works. In your plant, so far deadlines for the recovery of investments are not always observed. You must tighten up and reach planned indicators more rapidly. You must accurately and promptly repay the state budget.

More efficient use should be made of material resources as well. Naturally, this applies to all economic sectors. It frequently happens that if there is a shortage of metal, for example, the question of further increasing its output is raised immediately. Yet we smelt more metal than any other country. In terms of the number of grade steels and rolled metal parts we yield to no one.

On the one hand, the problem is one of further quality improvements and increasing the production of the progressive types of metal goods which are still being produced in insufficient amounts. On the other, it is to lower the outlays of metal and the elimination of losses both by the metallurgical enterprises and the consumers. This particularly applies to the type of expensive items produced by Serp i Molot.

This fully applies to the conservation of fuel and energy. Unfortunately, somehow the statement that our country is infinitely rich in coal, ore, petroleum and natural gas has become popular even in our propaganda.

Actually, matters are not so simple. Indeed, our deposits are substantial. However, as we know, they are not being replenished by nature and their extraction is becoming increasingly costly. Furthermore, we must conserve resources for the future generations, for which reason we must use them intelligently and efficiently.

Above all, we must maximally accelerate the development and utilization of energy-saving equipment and technologies. We must not tolerate the fact that many serially produced engines and electric power plant boilers consume 15 to 20 percent more fuel than the best prototypes developed by Soviet scientists and designers. In ferrous metallurgy the coefficient of fuel utilization in heating the metal averages one-half the figure reached by the leading enterprises.

Sufficient good words have been said on the need to conserve metal, fuel, energy and all other resources. However, they are by no means always backed by specific actions. It is only the initiative and the individual contribution of everyone, from the worker to the director, that will yield tangible results in pursuing the course of strengthening the regimen of savings everywhere and in everything.



Comrades! I know that you have acquired good experience in the brigade organization of labor.

This method of labor organization and incentive was launched on the initiative of progressive collectives. It was created in the very thick of the masses and is the result of the people's social creativity.

An efficient means of upgrading labor productivity, specific to our system, was developed. A proper method was found for combining the interests of individual workers and collectives and society. This is one of the basic problems in building socialism from the economic, sociopolitical and educational viewpoints.

It is thus that the high political consciousness and labor standards of workers and kolkhoz members are helping to shape the essential elements of social relations in developed socialism.

Hero of Socialist Labor Boris Vasil'yevich Chukanov properly pointed out here that within the brigades the concepts of "mine" and "ours," and the individual with the public factors blend within a single piece of class consciousness, patriotic duty and collective skill.

I was told that three-quarters of the workers in ferrous metallurgy work in brigades. Yet the metallurgical workers have fallen behind somewhat in the use of cost accounting and in converting to assessing the work on the basis of end results and in accordance with the labor participation of individual workers.

Naturally, some problems must be resolved on the level of ministries, departments or sectorial trade unions. For example, a sensible question was asked here: Why is it that the shift foreman, who organizes the work of the comprehensive brigade, is not a brigade member? And why is it that his wages are not computed as those of the brigade members?"

The State Committee for Labor is currently experimenting in this area. I believe, however, that wherever suitable conditions exist we should not wait for the results of the experiment but undertake more daringly the necessary steps indicated by reality. Naturally, it should not be forgotten that no one is relieving the foreman of responsibility for organizing the work and the production process, even after he becomes member of the brigade.

In a worker environment we cannot fail to mention the vivid and accurate concept of cadre worker. Honestly speaking, here and there it is ignored. Yet this expression brings to mind the image of the true working person, a master wizened by experience, the enterprise patriot, educator of the young guard, a frank and principled person.

Cadre workers are not only the backbone of any production process. They are the pride of our working class. We must care for and rely on them. We must enhance the prestige of skillful work, the prestige of quality work which is said to last two centuries.

In 1919 bolshevik workers at the Moscow marshaling yard set the example of selfless shock labor for the common good. Sixty-five years later, today's All-Union Communist Subbotnik rallied more than 157 million Soviet people. Such are now the scope and scale of assertion of collectivist principles in our life.

I was told by Viktor Vasil'yevich Grishin that at the present subbotnik Muscovites worked in a particularly high mood, with enthusiasm, like Stakhanovites. This happened everywhere. The Soviet people took to heart the party's call of looking at their work as fulfilling their patriotic duty.

On behalf of the Central Committee Politburo and government let me merely say from the heart, thank you, comrades! We thank your collective and all working people (sustained applause).

Side by side with the veterans, I see in this hall a number of young faces. They have brought here the breath of the unfading proletarian youth of Serp i Molot, which recently celebrated its centennial. The plant managers told me that nearly one-third of your personnel are young people. The plant has become rejuvenated in recent years. This is a noteworthy fact.

What does this prove? As a result of the reconstruction and modernization, work at your enterprise has become more attractive to young people. Therefore, although a reconstruction may seem to be a strictly technical matter, it assumes an important social coloring.

I use this opportunity to emphasize the following: we are currently undertaking the implementation of the school reform. Its successful completion will largely depend on the interested participation of production collectives and on strengthening cooperation between schools and enterprises. The well-organized work of adolescents, the efficient rhythm and order at work and the spirit of worker unity and collectivism must teach the youngsters the science of life through practical experience. They must help them in selecting and mastering a skill and in developing high civic qualities.

It is precisely work and not discussions about work, work for the good of the homeland, which is the most reliable criterion of a person's political consciousness.

All of you know that young people do not like only to be lectured. In our youth we too were not enthusiastic about edifications and exhortations. The best ways of educating someone is through trust and strict responsibility for assignments.

The careers of many experienced industrial managers show that during the difficult war years these youngsters operated machine tools; at 16 they became brigade leaders and at 25 were in charge of a shop. Nothing can substitute for such training.

The school of labor, the school of life, the school of political work among the masses is the most reliable school (applause).

By describing the Bolshevik Party as the party of the future, Lenin related this also to the steady influx within it of young and energetic forces. Today nearly three-quarters of the overall number of new party members come from the Komsomol.

This is a worthy reinforcement. The Komsomol is a reliable party reserve and combat aid. The party continues to assign responsible projects to this union of young Leninists and knows that one can rely on the Komsomol.

Comrades! On other occasions I have spoken of the economic development difficulties we encountered at the turn of the 1980s. The Central Committee, our party, our entire people are working to eliminate them entirely and to reach a new level. This calls for highly productive work and everyone's economic interest in developing production. The people's well-being can be enhanced only on this basis.

Systematically improving the life of the broad toiling masses is the general line followed by the communist party and nothing will make it deviate (applause).

Since the beginning of the 1970s alone real per capita income has increased by more than 50 percent. The average monthly wage in the national economy was 182 rubles in 1983. The earnings of highly skilled workers were much higher. They averaged 250-300 and even more rubles per month.

Today we build more housing over a 4-year period than was built throughout the prewar period. More than 50 million people are improving their housing conditions every 5 years.

The production of consumer goods is increasing and services are expanding.

The income of farmworkers is increasing. A larger number of comfortable and beautiful homes, schools, medical establishments and clubs are being built and modern roads laid in the countryside.

The Soviet people note with satisfaction that the Food Program is beginning to yield results. Hardly everything has been done to ensure its implementation. Frankly speaking, breakdowns in trade in animal husbandry products still occur in many areas. Extensive work remains to be done to improve food supplies to the population and the quality of consumer goods.

You know that in addition to huge state funds allocated for the solution of social problems, many enterprises and associations already have substantial economic incentive funds at their disposal, totaling in excess of 50 billion rubles. Such people's funds must be used thriftily, assigning priority to the prime needs of the labor collectives.

Let us admit that something else happens as well. Occasionally substantial funds are spent on secondary matters or are used for something which could wait.



Some local managers are afflicted with megalomania. If they build a palace of culture, it must include marble, crystal and engravings. The artistic panels they set up are huge enough to hide the skies. This, in my view, comes from a mercantile ostentatious concept of beauty! (excitement in the hall).

There should be moderation in everything. We must always remember that a kindergarten, housing for young couples, a good cafeteria in the shop and a club in the village are the best visual agitation in favor of our way of life.

Comrades! At your plant, as everywhere else in the country, the party members are the first to take up the most difficult and responsible projects. It is precisely this which strengthens their reputation among the broad masses.

The communist party is the vanguard of the entire people. However, in terms of its class nature, programmatic objectives, ideology, politics and the role which the workers play in the CPSU, it has been and remains the party of the working class, loyal to the great traditions of bolshevism (sustained applause).

It is this which ensures revolutionary continuity in its activities and the strictly sustained class nature of its domestic and foreign policy. It guarantees the success of the tremendous project which we describe as advancing developed socialism.

In the course of building socialism, the party raised outstanding cadres of managers and true leaders of the masses. Their work is difficult and their responsibility is great. The people refer to such comrades with great respect.

Occasionally, however, one may also hear justifiable indignation at cases of improper behavior on the part of some personnel at work and in society. Such cases are intolerable. The Central Committee takes and will take strictly to task those who work with slackness and who violate the laws and the CPSU bylaws. We mentioned this firmly at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum. Let me repeat once again that our exigency and principle-mindedness will never slacken--today, tomorrow or in the future (applause).

I share the view expressed by roller Aleksandr Pavlovich Moiseyev. In his address he quite frankly touched upon an important aspect of social justice: the strict implementation by every citizen of his obligations to society. You are right, Aleksandr Pavlovich. There are people who would like to receive everything, whether owed to them or not. They frequently do. Yet they forget their duty to society. That is why I fully support the comprehensive work of the Moscow party organization under the good slogan of "Honor and Glory According to Labor!" (sustained applause).

You, comrades, discussed many vital problems. You are particularly interested in the prospects for the implementation of the housing program.

Let me report to you that the Central Committee Politburo considered the question of housing construction this five-year plan. The Gosplan and ministries and departments were instructed to allocate all the necessary funds and resources for the strict fulfillment and overfulfillment of the quite high five-year plan for the commissioning of housing.

It is true that we receive letters also from those who have obtained apartments which, however, have been shoddily built and delivered unfinished. Unfortunately, this does occur and the grief of such new settlers is understandable.

Problems related to the quality of housing, commodities and services are both economic and social. They directly affect the interests of millions of people. Naturally, high quality is determined by a number of components. Nevertheless, one of the most important among them is the attitude of the worker toward the work, I would say his worker conscience.

How could one build shoddy premises for workers, teachers and physicians and, finally, for oneself and one's children?

We legitimately praise the labor heroes who are famous throughout the country. However, negligence as well should be identified. It is time for wastemakers to be known. We must know who works poorly and negligence must be taken to task strictly (applause).

Comrades, the power of our system is greatly increased by the conscientiousness of the masses. At its June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the party formulated the developed concept of long-term ideological activities. The plenum's decisions provided a powerful impetus for improving ideological education and mass political work along all lines.

The main thing is to shift the center of ideological efforts to the labor collective, the primary party organization. We must entirely eliminate the still-existing inertia as a result of which all activities sometimes remain within the ideological departments themselves and are replaced by drafting extensive papers and holding hours-long meetings.

No less than in other areas, efficiency, organization, effective control and verification of execution and the ability to achieve actual results are needed in practical ideological work.

It was natural, comrades, for all speeches we heard today to be imbued with concern for constructive work. By its very nature the working class is a constructive class. Your words reflect the will of the Soviet people for a lasting peace.

We can only agree with the way you assess the international situation. Yes, the organizers of the so-called "crusade" against the USSR and the other socialist countries would like to bring us down on our knees. No one will ever succeed in accomplishing this! (stormy applause).

We suffered through our revolution, we defended it and built socialism and are now implementing tremendous plans for the development of the country and for improving the life of the people further. We do not impose on anyone our outlook or social system. Nor do we need foreign lands. The Soviet Union sincerely asks for only one way--the way of peaceful coexistence and mutually profitable international cooperation.

However, understandably, not everything depends on our good will. In politics as well we trust only actions rather than words. An arms reduction means a truly reciprocal reduction. The elimination of nuclear weapons means a true elimination on both sides. Were the United States and NATO to do so, we shall not hold up the project.

The Soviet people are deeply convinced that peace can be preserved. The development of events may be turned from confrontation to detente. We are ready for a dialogue. We are ready actively to cooperate with governments and organizations which are willing to work for peace honestly and constructively.

However, as long as military and political tension exists and as long as our country is threatened with nuclear missiles by the United States and the NATO countries, we must keep our powder dry. We must always be on guard to prevent changes in the ratio of forces in favor of imperialism and a lowering of our strength.

Our concern for the safety of the socialist fatherland is understandable by any person with common sense. The pain of the losses suffered during the last war will never abate in all Soviet families. Our country lost 20 million lives in defending its independence and rescuing world civilization from the threat of enslavement by the fascist barbarians.

The party's Central Committee and the Soviet government are aware of their greatest responsibility to the people. June 1941 will not be repeated. Any aggressor will be subjected to immediate retribution. Let everyone--our friends and our enemies--know this (tempestuous applause).

In relation to the aggravated international situation, the CPSU Central Committee is receiving a number of letters, the authors of which suggest that the work week be extended and that a fund for the defense of the country be set up.

I would like first of all sincerely to thank the thousands of Soviet patriots--war and labor veterans, young workers and kolkhoz members, party members and nonparty people--who have submitted such suggestions. Let me point out that our economic potential and new technical means which enhance the efficiency of defense allow us reliably to ensure the safety of the Soviet state and its allies without resorting to such measures.

The planned socioeconomic programs for the development of the country and for enhancing the living standard of the Soviet people will also be systematically implemented.

Comrades! Our Leninist party will soon enter a period of direct preparations for its 27th Congress. You well understand that we are confronted with broad and comprehensive projects.

Enriched with reliable experience in political and organizational work and economic construction, we rely on the monolithic unity between party and people. The course pursued by the CPSU Central Committee has been weighed and tested with the participation of every party member, one could say. The party's policy is being actively supported by all Soviet people through practical deeds. This is the guarantee that we shall resolve the problems we set for ourselves and attain our objectives (sustained applause).

In conclusion, let me say a few personal words.

I thank you for your warm welcome and frank discussion. The warm greetings and good wishes you expressed give me strength and energy and strengthen my confidence in the success of our joint work.

Once again, many thanks, dear comrade metallurgical workers! I wish you new achievements in your difficult toil and the best in life. May May Day be a bright and happy one for every one of you and your families! (tempestuous and sustained applause. All stand up).

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## COMPLYING WITH THE LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION

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[Article by M. Zimyanin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee plenum and the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, which were held in April 1984, adopted important decisions determining the ways of further strengthening the economic and defense might of our motherland and of perfecting developed socialism. The documents of the plenum and the session and the speeches of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, express the scientifically substantiated strategy guiding the party in the contemporary stage. "The question is one of a strategy of advancing toward communism," Comrade K. U. Chernenko said at the plenum, "which has nothing in common with tardiness in actions or with skipping historically necessary stages of development. The fact of the matter is that on the path to the highest aims of the party, we still have to fulfill a considerable number of major and complex tasks which by their origin and nature relate to the first phase of communist formation."

The working people of the Soviet Union utterly and completely approve of the historic decisions of the February and April CPSU Central Committee plenums and of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the speeches of Comrade K. U. Chernenko as constituting an inspiring program of new, creative accomplishments.

The measures implemented in the country to accelerate the progress of social production, complete its transition to an intensive path of development, perfect the economic mechanism, enhance the role of labor collectives, and elevate ideological and mass political work, are now supplemented by a developed program to improve the activities of the soviets of people's deputies and develop general statehood and socialist democracy. The reform of general educational and vocational schools is an inalienable part of the creative transformation taking place in the country.

The school reform was objectively necessitated primarily by the party's policy to systematically and comprehensively perfect mature socialism, and also by the characteristics of the contemporary stage of our social development which engender new, more perfect forms of social life and also a new type of individual. The dialectics of life are obvious: The ascent of a



society to new heights generates a new individual and, acquiring a new quality, this individual assists this ascent still further. So it has always been at every stage of history of the land of the soviets.

Following Lenin's directions, the CPSU considers guidance of the people's education to be one of the important component parts of its political and organizational activities. The party has always regarded the school as an important factor in society's comprehensive progress.

In the contemporary situation the role of the school is being enhanced still further. This is determined by the ever increasing scale and depth of revolutionary-creative transformation within our country. The new historical tasks, particularly of the end of the present and of the beginning of the coming century, will be fulfilled by those who today sit at school desks or are just beginning school. They will have to take the responsibility upon themselves for the historical fate of the country, and each of these citizens of our motherland must develop into a comprehensively educated and ideologically firm builder of communism, possessing high moral qualities.

The people's education system participates--and in many respects plays a determining role--in the formation of the new man and in the implementation of a complex social program that embraces a wide range of problems not only connected with the teaching and education of the young generation, but also with the fulfillment of all the other tasks of communist construction. Here everything is mutually connected and united. In the Basic Trends of the Reform of General Educational and Vocational Schools--a party and state document of great scientific and social significance--the development of the Soviet education system is regarded as "a most important factor in the confirmation of socialist civilization."

Elaborating the concept and strategy of the further development of the Soviet general educational and vocational schools, the CPSU Central Committee and the commission [for the draft school reform] of the Central Committee Politburo, under the chairmanship of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, have relied upon the classic Leninist theses on a unified, working, polytechnical Soviet school and on the principles and aims of its construction, upon the historical experience of the development of the people's education in the USSR, and also upon analysis of its contemporary condition in light of the new historical tasks facing the party and the people. Party organizations, organs of the people's education, scientific institutions, and trade union and Komsomol organizations have participated in this work.

The discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft by broad circles of the Soviet public--workers, peasants, representatives of the intelligentsia and particularly teachers--was of the greatest significance in the elaboration and ultimate ratification of this draft. This discussion was conducted on a nationwide scale. The draft reform was discussed in practically all of the country's labor collectives, in all schools, vocational-technical schools, higher education institutes and technical colleges. A total of 120 million people participated in these meetings and 7 million spoke on the subject. As many as 1.2 million proposals were submitted. Extensive and interesting

materials were published in the press. A vast number of letters were sent to the commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, to the party and soviet organs, and to the editors of newspapers and journals.

We can note with satisfaction that during the general discussion the main ideas of the general educational and vocational school reform, which were formulated by the CPSU Central Committee, received the full support of the people. In all this the unity of the party and the people and the colossal creative potentials of socialist democracy were once more most clearly manifested.

The aims of the 26th CPSU Congress, and of the June and December 1983 and February 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums, the fundamental tenets of Marxist-Leninist science on the people's education and education under socialism and the constitutional principles of the Soviet Union have been consistently implemented in the Basic Trends of the Reform of General Educational and Vocational Schools. Additions to and observations on the draft, which were made during the nationwide discussion, have been considered. The USSR Supreme Soviet has given the document, which was unanimously approved by the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum, a legislative nature.

The Soviet people's education system, formed under the leadership of V. I. Lenin, is one of the most important achievements of the socialist system. Our schools have cultivated and educated generations of active builders of socialism and courageous defenders of the fatherland. We have formed a system of general secondary education that is without doubt the best in the world, that is really for all people, and that embodies the genuine democracy and social justice of Soviet society and its tireless concern for communist education and the education of new generations. We have built and will also henceforth continue to build the Soviet school, both secondary and higher, while complying with Lenin's behests, relying upon the fundamental legacy of Marxism-Leninism and upon all that is advanced and progressive in the theory and historical experience of the people's education, and ensuring the further thorough scientific analysis and solution of current educational problems.

The scale of the Soviet people's education today is colossal. A total of 5.3 million people study in higher schools, 52.5 million in general secondary education and vocational schools, and approximately 80 million in preschool institutions.

The transition to general secondary education in the USSR was one of the most important achievements in the development of our motherland's material and spiritual potential. There are now 142,000 general educational schools in the country. A ramified network of vocational-technical schools is in operation. During the 11th Five-Year Plan alone 13 million skilled workers are being trained at these schools. Higher and secondary special education has been extensively developed. The educational levels of the working people of different classes and social groups and of different nations and nationalities in the USSR have converged significantly.

The party and the government show constant concern to improve the conditions of work of the Soviet school. Annual appropriations from the state budget

for the needs of general education alone total approximately 17 billion rubles. During the 1970-1983 period new schools were commissioned with places for almost 18 million pupils, and of these more than half were in rural areas. A total of 33,000 extramural institutions, including children's music, art and sports schools, are functioning in our country. Every year every third student is involved in Pioneer and health-sports camps, and in work and rest camps. More than 15 million children are educated in permanent preschool institutions.

Never before have we had such extensive possibilities for teaching and educating young people. As noted at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the most literate and the most vocationally trained younger generation in the whole of the country's history enters into independent life today.

At the same time the level of work of general secondary and vocational education institutes does not yet fully meet increased social requirements. We have not implemented by any means all the potentials of the people's training and education inherent in the socialist system. This is testified to by certain shortcomings in school activities, particularly manifestations of formalism and of detachment from real life, which are to be found both in the content and in the methods of training and education, and primarily in labor education. Life makes methods of training and education, and primarily in labor education. Life makes ever increasing demands upon the school. The CPSU is interested in young Soviet citizens being educated in our country not simply as possessors of a certain sum of knowledge and skills, but as active builders of communism with lofty ideological aims, morals and interests, spiritually rich and with a high standard of labor and conduct.

The Leninist principles of a unified, working, polytechnical school which are applied and developed while taking the new historical conditions and potentials of Soviet society into account determine the ideological spirit and methodological foundations of the people's education reform now being implemented. Its main aims are to improve the quality of the training and communist education of the younger generation, and to fundamentally improve the training of young people for life, work and defense of the motherland. A great deal of work will have to be done to bring the education system into line with the new demands of social and scientific-technical progress, while preserving everything of value that has been achieved in the sphere of the people's education.

Perfection of general compulsory secondary education, which now embraces the entire growing generation from preschool age until the entry into independent life, demands a complex approach and one that does not overlook a single aspect of the activities of schools, the system of vocational-technical education and also preschool and extramural institutions.

Fulfillment of the assigned task will be assisted by measures to perfect the structure of school education and to change the time spent in school education from 10 to 11 years (and, regarding graduation from vocational-technical schools, to 12 years) by means of gradually making the transition to teaching children from 6 years of age and turning 3-year elementary schools into 4-year ones, and 8-year incomplete secondary schools into 9-year ones. Thus,



the school's training and educational potential will be increased, its potentials for raising the students' level of knowledge likewise increased, and better conditions for eliminating overloading created.

The considerable experience available--both ours (at present more than 1 million 6-year-old children are already being taught in first classes and preparatory groups in schools) and that of other countries--confirms the possibility of including children in the school education system at an earlier age. There is no doubt that increasing the length of schooling in the elementary stages from 3 to 4 years will make it possible to give the youngest pupils a more thorough grounding and to spread the academic load. What is more, scientists are of the opinion that this age is the most crucial for forming a child's abilities and nature. On the contrary, in many cases, beginning teaching any later than this retards his development.

During discussion of the draft reform, observations were made on this point aroused mainly by the fact that, in the majority of schools, the conditions for this major innovation have not yet been created, and, in a number of rayons, drawing 6-year-olds into the school education process is complicated by unfavorable climatic and other conditions. However, we are not talking about hasty actions. This problem, like no other, requires a well-thought out solution that is suitably backed up--from a material, organizational and pedagogical point of view--and that permits not an atom of formalism. An analysis of experience accumulated in the teaching of 6-year-olds shows that school teaching from 6 years of age is possible in the absolute majority of the country's rayons. At the same time the planned transformations must be implemented gradually as the necessary prerequisites are created, taking local characteristics into account, and without haste and administrative pressure. Here a certain transitional period is inevitable. It is planned that during this period, depending upon the above-mentioned conditions, children will be able to be taught either in school or in kindergarten. The size of the former group will gradually grow while that of the latter will correspondingly diminish.

The length of a lesson for 6-year-olds is 35 minutes, and they have up to three or four lessons per day. The methods and conditions of school educational work with these children in school need not differ sharply from similar kinds of work in a kindergarten.

According to parents' wishes, 6-year-olds can be transferred to the routine of the extended day groups.

Reducing the age level for beginning education does not pursue a narrowly pragmatic aim--it is not simply a matter of starting school earlier, rather it is one of fulfilling the complex pedagogical task of organically forming the personality, which requires the necessary and appropriate material conditions and a system for the children's vital activity, and for their interaction and mutual relation with the surrounding social environment and with one another that is adequate for their particular age group. Here, as nowhere else, simplification and vulgarization of the task are particularly inadmissible since this kind of attitude is fraught with negative consequences for the future prospects of personality development.

Measures for perfecting the substance of the school educational process, for intensifying its polytechnical and practical trends and for eliminating overloading with secondary and excessively complicated material are aimed at improving the quality of training and education. Here public opinion is unambiguous. Programs and textbooks, particularly on mathematics, physics and biology, are sharply criticized for the fact that they are difficult for the students to grasp and master, are not properly connected with practice, are subject to abstraction, are poorly backed up by pedagogical study, and tend to be written in dry and complicated language. The quality of methodological studies also gives rise to a considerable amount of criticism.

The Soviet school is called upon to arm students with a good, sound knowledge of the fundamentals of science, while bearing in mind both the classical foundations of science and the most important achievements of contemporary science and technology.

The problems of perfecting the content of education and of strengthening the connections between training and the practice of contemporary production occupy an important place in the school reform. It is deemed expedient to implement a complex of measures to arm students with the necessary knowledge and skills for working with computer technology, which is a complex and responsible task. All study material must be intelligible to the students and must take their age characteristics fully into account. Everyone leaving school or college must confidently and reliably fulfill tasks at the level of the certificate he has received, whether these tasks be in the sphere of his working activity, military service, or further education. And it is precisely by this criterion that one should judge the merit of an educational establishment, and not by the infamous "percentages."

The clauses of the Basic Trends on improving the teaching of social-humanity subjects, on revealing the foundations of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook more fully in these subjects, and elucidating the stage of developed socialism and the leading role of the Communist Party in our society were unanimously supported by the working people.

It is expedient to implement proposals to intensify ideological influence upon the teaching of history to students and to relieve and reduce the fragmentary nature of this subject. A close mutual link must be ensured between the general history course and the course on the history of the USSR. In view of increasing the time spent studying social science, a program and textbook on this subject will have to be developed and experimentally tested, while taking the demand for a closer connection between teaching and life into account.

Let us note that the disciplines of this kind of subject should not be regarded simply as a means of general cultural enrichment; the formation of the ideological awareness and moral aspect of the students, the degree of development of their thinking, and also the degree to which they are prepared for independent intellectual activity generally depend to a large extent upon the level of teaching of these subjects.

The role of literature in the formation of a spiritually rich, harmoniously developed personality with high moral ideals and esthetic needs and tastes is growing. The USSR Ministry of Education, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, and the USSR Union of Writers, together with the participation of the union republic ministries of education, have to elaborate proposals to perfect the content of this subject by basing it upon the study of prominent works of classical Russian literature and other classical literature of the peoples of our country, and upon Soviet and foreign literature.

The clause of the Basic Trends on further improving the study of the Russian language in non-Russian schools as well as study of the student's native language is very important. During the nationwide discussion of the draft reform, the working people of different nationalities unanimously emphasized that the Russian language, which has been willingly adopted by Soviet people as a means of international intercourse, has become the language of friendship and brotherhood of all our peoples.

The Ministry of Education, the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences have to speed up and complete in the shortest possible time the revision of school plans, programs and textbooks. The best creative forces, experienced teachers and methodologists, prominent scientists and masters of scientific popularization must be drawn into their elaboration. In this respect a principled course must be pursued, not permitting subjectivism or group bias, as has unfortunately happened in the past. It is time to ensure the necessary order in the preparation of and experimentation with textbooks, and in their introduction into broad school practice, thereby making this most important creative work accessible not only to scientists but also to the best teachers, and to create the necessary conditions for the authors.

Proposals were made in response to the draft reform to create the conditions for students' deeper study of individual subjects. This possibility is envisaged in the Main Trends. Optional studies of the students' choice are being introduced for the intensified study of physics-mathematics, chemistry-biology and social humanities subjects, and also for the development of the students' many-sided interests and abilities. As far as requests to organize specialized schools and classes everywhere are concerned, complying with them was not possible. This would be inexpedient and the extensive development of the network of these schools should not be begun because this would violate one of the fundamental principles of our schools--a unified level of education.

Implementation of the general educational and vocational school reform requires particular attention to perfecting the forms and methods of teaching and to orienting them toward developing the students' cognitive activeness and creative thinking and cultivating their ability to put the knowledge they have received to practical use. Proposals to increase research of school activities and to utilize more actively advanced native and foreign experience with this aim in mind should be considered. The reform document also points to the necessity to increase the students' responsibility for the quality of their knowledge and for their observation of school and work discipline.

Ideology departments, the creative unions of the arts, intelligentsia, scientific-technical societies, and all cultural institutions are called upon to concern themselves more closely with the requirements of the school and with the contemporary tasks of educating the growing generations. Young students represent a specific object of education. They are responsive to clear, emotionally colored influences, and are not burdened by prejudices. At the same time they have no experience of life or the necessary labor and political tempering. All this must be taken into account not only by pedagogues, but also by workers on the ideological front and in the mass information media--the press, television, radio and figures in literature and art--who must actively and constantly help the teacher, the family and the public.

The reform of general educational and vocational schools presupposes a fundamental improvement in the organization of students' time spent out of school and in the whole system of work of nonschool institutions--Pioneer palaces and halls, facilities of young technicians, naturalists and tourists, sports, music, art and choreography schools and children's libraries. It is envisaged forming a complex of nonschool institutions in every rayon covering a broad spectrum of activities. This will serve as the material basis for comprehensively developing the students' abilities and talents.

The educational value of time spent outside of classes in many ways is determined by the degree to which the students are involved in various mass and individual forms of work--the Timur movement, special interest clubs, circles of technical and artistic creativity, and sports sections.

The executive committees of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies and the people's education departments with whom the responsibility rests for organizing all extracurricular educational work in schools and extended day groups, nonschool institutions and in residential areas must seek opportunities for singling out and equipping premises for studies with children and juveniles, arranging the matter in such a way that in every microrayon the school is the center of active educational work with students.

During the nationwide discussion of the tasks of the school reform, people justly demanded that all manifestations of formalism in the content and methods of school educational work and in the evaluation of the results of school, vocational-technical school and pedagogical activities be decisively eradicated. Implementing this demand is no simple matter. One cannot get by in this respect with orders alone. The party committees must take this problem under their control by persistently and consistently ensuring that the organs of the people's education really evaluate the success of school institutions by the depth and soundness of the students' knowledge, their ideological and moral qualities and preparedness for life.

The Soviet people unanimously support the pivotal idea of the reform--that of fundamentally improving the work education and professional orientation of the students and the growing generations and uniting training with productive work. The present condition of work education does not correspond to the requirements of society.



An important component part of the social maturing of young people in the formation of a conscious need for work for the good of society and practical training for socially useful work. Let us recall the words of Lenin: "...One cannot imagine the ideal of the future society without uniting the training of the younger generation with productive labor: Neither training and education without productive labor, nor productive labor without the parallel training and education could be set on that height that is required by the contemporary level of technology and the condition of scientific knowledge" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 2, p 485). What is more, the leader of the first socialist state, like K. Marx, emphasized that in this lies "the only means of producing comprehensively developed peoples" (op. cit., vol 26, p 75).

The significance of work in the schools' educational activities was particularly emphasized by Comrade K. U. Chernenko at a meeting with voters on 2 March 1984: "Work will never be an amusement, a diversion. Even under communism it will remain, to quote Marx, 'devilishly serious business'...Cultivating a love of work in students and fully including the force of productive labor in the educational process is one of the most important tasks of education.

"As you can understand, the question is far from being one of depreciating the significance of general culture and knowledge or of introducing something akin to labor obligation. Of course the school reform has nothing in common with these kinds of paltry ideas, which are bandied about by hostile radio voices.

"It is a matter of something else: The individual who is not trained to work cannot be an aware builder of the new world.

"We are constantly concerned with training young people who will not falter and will not bend under the weight of their historical responsibility for the fate of the country and for the fate of socialism and peace. Young people who would be able not only to assimilate the experience of the older generations, but also to enrich this experience with their own accomplishments. This is the concern of the school and the family, but not only their concern. It is also the concern of the Komsomol and the trade unions and labor collectives.

"It is a great party task. In the final analysis it is a matter of reliably safeguarding the future of our socialist motherland."

In accordance with the implemented reform, participation in suitable, socially useful work together with studying will become systematic and compulsory for every student. Time set aside for this purpose in the school plan is being significantly increased. Cultivating a taste for work in the younger generation and an understanding of the fact that only socially useful work lends weight to human life is one of the fundamental tasks set by the party.

Here one must always remember that the main work of children is, of course, studying and soundly mastering the fundamentals of science.

The essence of improving work training and education in general educational schools must consist in determining for each class the minimum of feasible working abilities and skills which the students must acquire and organizing an effective system of school working activities on the principles of socialist production organization.

The work of students must definitely be socially useful and productive. It is precisely the organization of this work--which relies upon scientific principles, contemporary technology, and the recommendations of pedagogy and psychology, and which strictly and rigorously observes the rules of technical safety and safeguards the children's health--that requires great efforts not only on the part of the organs of the people's education and the schools in particular, but also of industry and agriculture. Ensuring this only on the basis of school workshops and even of interschool production combines, although they are of great benefit, is simply impossible. The experience of many production associations and enterprises of industry, kolkhozes and sovkhoses, which have concerned themselves with improving the work education of the growing generation in school shops and workshops, student brigades, school farms and in sectors of agriculture and also with increasing the material-technical equipping of schools and vocational-technical schools, must be utilized everywhere as the real property of the people.

Thus, the work training and education of students must be reorganized in the shortest possible space of time, since this is an inalienable part of the reform of our schools. Obviously, a considerable number of complex problems will arise in the process, not all of which can be foreseen in advance, but they must be and will be resolved for the sake of the highest interests of our country and its future.

An important and basically new task of the general educational school is that of ensuring a combination of polytechnical work training with vocational training in the upper grades. The fulfillment of this task will require the formation of a good material-technical basis (mainly on the basis of industrial and agricultural production) and a considerable number of skilled cadres. This has not always happened in the past, and consequently a number of proposals concern the necessity of a well-thought-out approach to the fulfillment of this task. It is indeed a complex one. Probably not every school will be immediately able to properly provide its graduates with professional knowledge and skills.

But this must be steadily worked towards, while showing energy and persistence in creating all the prerequisites for ensuring that secondary school graduates are armed with one of the mass professions. This kind of experience, which has been accumulated since the time of A. S. Makarenko, is being successfully utilized and developed by the country's best schools.

It is difficult to overestimate the role of the village school in fulfilling the tasks of socially developing rural areas, consolidating young people in agricultural production and raising the cultural level of the socialist village. The potentials of sovkhoses, kolkhozes, interfarm enterprises and agroindustrial associations must be more extensively utilized for building, repairing and equipping school buildings. The means and resources allotted

for these purposes will be repaid a hundredfold. The efforts of the party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations must be directed at strengthening the village schools with skilled cadres and at improving the quality of the school education process. Village school graduates must have required contemporary knowledge and good work training and must strive to actively participate in the USSR Food Program and in the development of the agrarian sector of the economy.

The planned measures to improve the students' professional orientation met with a positive response. In many ways the correct choice of profession and the correlation in the flow of graduates from incomplete secondary schools through the channels of further training will depend upon this.

It is generally recognized that the vocational-technical educational institutions, which have traversed a long and glorious path of development, are a good school for forming young people for work and a true forge of skilled working cadres. Every other worker today began his working life in one of these institutions.

The various kinds of vocational-technical schools which now exist will be reorganized into one kind of secondary educational institution with the appropriate departments for the different professions and lengths of training which take into account the level of education of those entering the institution. It is envisaged that the intake of vocational-technical schools will be approximately doubled in the next few years.

Let us be frank, the task is not a simple one. As well as resolving material, organizational and cadre problems which naturally arise in any new matter, one also has to overcome the inertia of ideas which have not yet been eliminated regarding the role and place of the vocational-technical educational system in our society, ideas that the vocational-technical schools are supposedly "second-class" educational institutions. Organically combining a school of study with a school of productive labor, these institutions now open the doors wide for any young person to enter any sphere of activity--be it in production, or in the sociopolitical, scientific, defense or cultural spheres.

The school reform is a new and important step in qualitatively perfecting the system of vocational-technical education. The material basis of these educational institutions will have to be significantly strengthened and the best pedagogical cadres will be channeled into these institutions. In accordance with the Basic Trends, vocational-technical school students will be granted rights equal to those of secondary school students regarding entrance into a higher education institute. Of course, much will depend upon the work of the schools themselves and of their pedagogical collectives. They are called upon to provide their students with a high level of general educational training and ideological and moral tempering as well as with good quality professional qualification. The press, television, radio and cinema are obliged to convincingly and clearly show the positive changes taking place in the life of the vocational school and to make the experience of the best vocational-technical schools the property of the broad public.



The development of the system of vocational-technical education, the opportunity to receive elementary vocational training in school, and the extensive network of special secondary and higher educational institutions create the conditions for making the transition to general vocational training for young people within the space of one or two five-year plans. This will be a new and major achievement of our social system.

A most important task of the Soviet school always has been and continues to be the ideological-political and moral education of the growing generations. The role of the school in perfecting ideological work is essentially growing. It says in the Basic Trends: "The formation of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook among students is the firm foundation of their communist education." One can say that this is the general trend of ideological education. Forming a dialectical-materialist view of the world among young people and a class approach to the evaluation of current events and cultivating politically and morally steadfast citizens of our society, patriots and internationalists and staunch and loyal defenders of the motherland is the aim of the purposeful educational work in schools. This work must fully take into account the serious exacerbation of the ideological struggle in the international arena. It is impossible not to see that some young people show elements of parasitism, consumerism and disrespect for work. It is clear that alien influences must be decisively opposed and that attention to the ideological-moral education of young people, especially of teenagers, must be increased.

The reform envisages consistently implementing measures to perfect the students' aesthetic education in the process of their studies both in and outside of school. It is proposed in particular to develop programs and aids for optional studies and extracurricular work in music, artistic and literary creativity, cinematographic art and so forth. The problems of developing native and world culture, the direct and applied arts and the aesthetics of labor will be elucidated more fully in programs and textbooks. Figures of culture and the arts must be drawn more extensively into direct participation in work with children. School educational complexes, which organically combine general education with musical, artistic and physical development, will be formed as an experiment. The network of artistic activity circles in educational institutions, Pioneer halls, clubs and palaces of culture will be expanded. It is proposed to increase the training of teachers of aesthetic subjects in special faculties of higher educational institutions so that these subjects will be taught by qualified specialists in all classes.

The cultivation of a harmoniously developed younger generation is unthinkable without the students' mass involvement in daily activities of physical culture. Never before has our country had such possibilities for physically developing children and teenagers and for cultivating healthy young people who are full of vitality and prepared to work and to defend the motherland. The aim is to significantly improve physical education work in every school and vocational-technical school and in all school educational institutions and to actively utilize lessons, extracurricular time, sports sections and other forms for this purpose. The students' daily participation in physical exercise must become the norm everywhere. Sports competitions between classes and schools must be more broadly practiced and the student collectives of those schools where the sports halls and grounds are available



equipment and facilities are put to good use must be encouraged in every possible way. The material basis of sports organizations and clubs and of enterprises and institutions must also be more fully used to improve the students' physical education.

Measures to disseminate knowledge in the spheres of hygiene and medicine must also contribute to strengthening young people's health. The USSR Ministry of Education and the USSR Ministry of Health must prepare popular school aids for students which will give them an idea of the development of the organism of the child and the juvenile and of the rules of personal hygiene.

A considerable number of opinions and proposals were advanced during the nationwide discussion of the school reform document to the effect that all aspects of educational work with young people should be intensified. It is proposed to elaborate recommendations for a complex approach to educational work in schools which envisage coordinating efforts in all directions of communist education--ideological, labor, military-patriotic, moral, aesthetic and physical--for the purpose of successfully and practically fulfilling the task of forming the new man and of comprehensively and harmoniously developing the personality. In this respect the efforts of educational institutions, the family, labor collectives, nonschool and cultural-educational institutions and the whole of our community must be combined in practice.

The new stage in the development of the Soviet school places increased demands upon the teacher.

The high appraisal of teachers' work, which was given in the basic document of the reform, met with ardent and universal support. The sections on raising the social prestige of the teacher attracted particular attention. The measures planned by the reform demand that the number of the pedagogical cadres--teachers, educators and masters of production training--be considerably increased and that the content of their training be brought into line with the new tasks of the school. The level of work of the pedagogical training institutions must be raised, the teaching personnel strengthened, in particular, by means of increasing the number of male teachers, perfecting the system of raising the qualifications and certification of the pedagogical cadres and improving the system for making up the quota of students.

The Soviet teacher has been, is and always will be the main figure in the school. The CPSU Central Committee proposal to raise the salary of pedagogical workers has been received with immense gratitude by literally everyone as a fresh manifestation of the party's concern for the school and the people's teachers. Creating favorable conditions for raising the pedagogical workers' ideological-theoretical level and professional standard and for assisting their truly creative activity must be our constant and general obligation.

The practice of overloading teachers with various tasks which distract them from their main task--that of training and educating children--must be stopped. Everyone must show teachers the maximum consideration. The teacher's working day does not end in school, rather it continues both at home and in the library, and so forth. Concrete measures must be thought out everywhere for ensuring teachers appropriate living conditions and for improving

the medical facilities available to them. In those places in the provinces where this matter is approached in the proper way the results are good. Unfortunately, it must be stated that all the available possibilities for improving the conditions of teachers' work and everyday life are utilized far from everywhere. What is more, cases of a scornful attitude toward teachers are well-known. This is intolerable, of course, and cannot be put up with any longer.

The reform makes new and higher demands upon the administration of the people's education. A great deal of disapproval and just criticism has been voiced by the public in recent years in the direction of the ministries of education, union and republic, and also of the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education. And indeed, paper-bureaucratic methods of guidance have not yet been overcome in their activities, they have no firm and substantiated course of action for a whole series of problems and they do not show enough initiative, persistency or efficiency in fulfilling tasks which are directly within their scope. The consequences of all these shortcomings are well-known.

The party and the people expect the USSR Ministry of Education and the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education to decisively change their style of work and to show greater initiative and efficiency and high party responsibility for the task in hand. The union and republic ministries of education and the local party and soviet organs are obliged to adopt effective measures for strengthening the rayon unit of education administration. Conditions for the work of school and vocational-technical school directors must be improved, their composition strengthened, and a reliable reserve of these leaders ensured.

It is natural that the development of general secondary and vocational education brings their aims and tasks ever closer together and unites them to an ever greater extent. The necessity for the administrative organs to steadily pursue a unified state policy in the sphere of training and education of the younger generation is pointed out in the Basic Trends. A narrowly departmental approach to the matter must be eliminated and actions in this sphere better coordinated.

The reform envisages forming interdepartmental commissions for the people's education both in the center and in the provinces--from the USSR Council of Ministers to the executive committees of the city and rayon soviets of people's deputies. These commissions are called upon to assist the effective coordination of the activities of the different units of the people's education and an increase in the practical guidance of general educational school- and vocational-technical education.

However, what has been said does not remove the necessity of further careful study and more thorough analysis of this problem. To all appearances it should be possible to set about experimentally forming a unified organ of administration of general educational and vocational schools in one or two republics in the near future. Proposals of this kind have been submitted.

Serious criticisms of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, primarily because of its alienation from the everyday life of the school, were distinctly heard in the stream of views expressed during the all-people's discussion of the tasks of the reform. It is impossible to disagree with the view that its attention should be sharply turned toward practice and toward the concrete tasks of teaching and the educational process. It is the task of the Academy to assist the school with all its forces, draw the scientists of other scientific branches to the noble tasks of the school, work in close contact with the broad public, adopt an attentive attitude toward the initiators of progressive new elements in pedagogical theory and practice and promote an exchange of positive experience in the sphere of education and training.

A further advancement of the party leadership in the people's education is a most important condition for the success of the school reform.

It is the duty of party organizations and party committees to be well-acquainted with the life of the school and skillfully solve its problems and the tasks of the reform connected with overcoming certain difficulties. The current question of the school and the reports of the gorkoms and raykoms, of the organs of education and of the soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs must be regularly discussed by the plenums and the bureaus of the central committees of communist parties of the republics and of the party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms. The party committees must direct more effectively the activities of the primary party organizations of schools and vocational technical schools and assist them in a practical and businesslike manner.

All ministries and departments face great tasks. As is well-known, the draft reform was discussed by their collegiums. It was from the lofty public forum of the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum that the appeal was made to all ministries and state committees: to intensify their attention to the school and correspondingly attune also the leaders of enterprises and associations, construction projects and kolkhozes and sovkhoses. The base enterprises have a decisive role in organizing the working training of schoolchildren. They must allot equipment, work places and skilled cadres for the school. It goes without saying that this will necessarily entail certain material and financial costs. It is necessary to ensure that the leaders of the ministries are well-acquainted with this and help the enterprises concerned. The schools, vocational technical schools and specialized secondary schools must become important workshops of their base enterprises. In this way and in this way alone must this question be put today.

The overall number of work places for schoolchildren as well as the output of various equipment and instruments, computer equipment and so forth for the school must be significantly increased. The ministries must give the "green light" to school orders. The USSR State Planning Committee and the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply must do a considerable amount of work in this direction. The ties between the USSR Ministry of Finance, the Central Statistical Administration and the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems on one hand, and the organs of the people's education, on the other, must be strengthened. The Ministries of Health, Culture and Trade, the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the

Book Trade and the USSR Committee for Physical Culture and Sports have their duty toward the school.

There is no department or social organization in the country which the problems of the school do not concern in one way or another. Assistance to the school in a wide range of problems must be an organic part of the work plans of all departments, enterprises and organizations and must represent their own vital concern. And the party committees of the ministries must strictly control the organization of this work and strive for positive results.

The soviets of people's deputies must implement the unified state policy in the sphere of people's education even more persistently and consistently. It is incumbent upon them to intensify the practical leadership of school institutions, improve the planning for and distribution of school graduates, thoroughly concern themselves with strengthening the material basis of education and above all exercise assiduous control over the projects construction. Those leaders who consider it permissible to relegate the construction of schools and children's institutions to secondary projects and to wreck the fulfillment of the state plan must be more strictly called to account.

Our trade unions are called upon to work for the implementation of the school reform and to closely cooperate in this connection with the soviet and economic organs. Essentially, there are no questions regarding the organization of work and everyday life of teachers which would not concern them.

The AUCCTU, the trade union central councils and the local trade union organs must improve in every possible way the work of trade union organizations of school institutions, raise their role in developing the creative initiative and activeness of pedagogical collectives and promote the preparing of advanced experiences.

Concern for improving the conditions of work and rest and of cultural services and sanatorium treatment for teachers, perfecting the activities of Pioneers' camps, work and rest camps and work associations of schoolchildren and effectively utilizing cultural halls, clubs, libraries and sport installations for work with children--these are some of the important points where the trade unions must apply their efforts for the school reform.

Under the contemporary conditions, the Komsomol and Pioneers' organizations must set up their work among children and youth in a new way. This primarily applies to the school, where a schoolchild spends a considerable amount of his time and where he becomes an Octobrist, Pioneer and Komsomol member. The classrooms are the basic cells of the school. The Komsomol and Pioneer life must be the key element in these cells. In this connection, it is necessary to create a creative atmosphere in all Komsomol organizations, free them from petty guardianship, grant them greater independence and resolutely renounce their excessive organization. And the work with Pioneers must be made especially lively and attractive, a spark of romanticism should be introduced into it, and the initiative, spontaneous activeness and cognitive interests of children must be encouraged and developed. The role of Pioneer leaders in this work must be raised to a higher level.



A resolute improvement of the educational work with children and youth in their homes, a correct organization of their leisure time and overcoming the negative consequences of the absence of control over a section of children must be connected with this.

In all work with schoolchildren, it is very important to find such forms and methods of education which, based on the activeness and response and a lively interest in the environment, will develop the creative abilities of children as well as their love of work, and which will form in them a communist world outlook and morals. They should be taught to live and work in the collective, to persistently master the required knowledge and to prepare themselves for work. They must be instilled with a high feeling of pride for belonging to the socialist fatherland, taught to place its interests above everything else and to constantly prepare themselves for the defense of the motherland and inculcated with love for the Soviet armed forces. The entire arsenal of the means of communist education must be utilized to form the active and brave people of new generations who will be wholeheartedly devoted to the party and people.

We expect a great deal of help in this task of immense state importance from the unions of creative workers.

The mass information media must extensively elucidate the progress of the implementation of the reform. They were actively engaged in work during the all-people's discussion of the CPSU Central Committee draft. What has been achieved must be consolidated and developed. Newspapers, journals, radio and television must help the school in every possible way and must promote and guard the social prestige of the school and of teachers. The role of the family and the constitutional obligation of Soviet citizens, that is, the education of children, are emphasized in the Basic Directions. The great Russian pedagogue, K. D. Ushinskiy, said that love of work is the best inheritance that parents can leave their children. We must continue to intensify social help to the family and at the same time raise its responsibility for forming the growing generation. And in return, parents must make efforts to increase the authority of the school and of teachers. In this connection it is necessary to ensure the unity of demands and the continuity of education in the family, the school, and the labor collective. We hope that the general pedagogical education of parents will contribute to improving education in the family.

The role of a strong harmonious family life is especially important for the upbringing of children. It is in the family where the basic moral values, capabilities and habits of the child are formed. The road of life of an individual begins with the first steps of a child and it is extremely important not only for the parents involved, but also for the society whether these are the steps of a selfish and egotistic child or the steps of a responsive child with an inquisitive mind and a love of work. The Soviet family has a glorious genealogy.

It is the genealogy of people who have completed the revolution, built socialism and defended it in the years of the most difficult trials. Handing



over to the younger generation the richest moral assets, noble habits of work, the ability to rely on oneself and the aspiration to live worthily-- this, properly speaking, is the duty of parenthood.

It is obvious that a young family needs a great amount of pedagogical support to enable it better to understand and sense the psychology of a child and to acquire educational skills. But the main thing is to ensure that the family and the school work harmoniously, in coordination and hand in hand because they share the same goal and the same concern.

There are spheres of upbringing in which the family is more successful than the school because of the confidentiality of communication among its members. The parents' word and especially the example of the father and mother are a powerful means of influencing the child.

It is generally known that the family often and decisively influences the choice of the school institution and of the profession of youth. It is the task of the school to help it in this respect. It is not only the teachers and the parents' committees in schools, but also the collectives where the parents of the schoolchildren work that must be involved in this task.

The pedagogical training of parents plays an important role in ensuring coordinated efforts of the family and school, of the community and collective, and the unified demands placed on schoolchildren. The success of the reform is predetermined in many respects by the degree of thoroughness of the clarification of its goals and tasks in each individual family. To convey the meaning of the reform to the broad community of parents, it is necessary to prepare a series of popular talks "On the School Reform to Parents" and to extensively utilize the press, radio, television and visual aids in propagandizing it.

As a result of the all-people's discussion, the text of the document on the reform of the general and vocational education schools has been enriched to a considerable extent and many of its provisions have been more precisely defined. In particular, new points have been incorporated on the prospects for the development of evening (shift) and correspondence schools for the young working people lacking secondary education, on eliminating serious shortcomings from the content and organization of the activities of these schools, on raising the quality of the teaching and educational process, and on regulating the planning of the groups of students. The provisions on work training on schoolchildren have been more precisely defined. The wishes of parents and the recommendations of pedagogical councils of schools have been noted among the factors that must be taken into consideration in determining the correlation between the currents of further training of graduates of the ninth grade. The necessity of a complex approach to educational work ensuring coordination of efforts in all directions of communist education has been emphasized.

The idea of harmonious development of the schoolchild's personality has been especially singled out. Experimental training and education complexes should be set up that will provide the possibility for performing in uninterrupted

unity the tasks of general education and the musical, artistic and physical development of schoolchildren. The heading of the fifth section of the document has been changed (the heading "Public Education of Children and Youth" has been replaced by the new heading "Public and Family Education of Children and Youth," which more precisely reflects the contents of the section).

The "Rules for Schoolchildren," which will be rewritten, will provide for a greater responsibility of schoolchildren for the quality of learning and for study, work and social discipline and for a system of encouraging the efforts applied to learning and work.

It has been noted that in summing up the results of socialist competition, it is necessary to take into account the participation of enterprises in assisting the schools and other education institutions in the education and work training of schoolchildren. The proposals and observations that have been received have been taken into consideration not only in the process of completing the Basic Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools, but in preparing a number of concrete party and government decisions.

The all-people's discussion of the document on the people's education has yielded exceptionally rich materials on the complex of problems of training and educating the growing generation. These materials must be further carefully studied and taken into consideration in the theory and practice of the people's education.

The party organizations and the working people of the country have expressed their unanimous support for the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Now the practical realization of the principles of the school reform begins.

Developing the Basic Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers prepared and adopted a number of resolutions on further perfecting the secondary general education, on further developing the system of vocational technical educational education, on improving work education and training, on the vocational orientation of schoolchildren and the organization of their socially useful productive work, on perfecting the training and improving the qualifications of pedagogical cadres, on increasing the work remuneration of teachers and other workers in the people's education and on improving pre-school education. These resolutions determine the concrete measures for implementing the Basic Directions of the Reform in practice.

About 11 billion rubles from the state budget will be allotted for the reform's implementation and it is calculated that of this amount, 3.5 billion rubles will be spent on increasing the work remuneration of workers in the people's education beginning on 1 September 1984. The basic measures of the reform will be carried out gradually during the 1984-90 period. A part of them will obviously be carried out later. It is basically assumed that the school education of children beginning at the age of 6 years will be introduced in the 1986-1990 period. The reduction of the number of children per

classroom will begin in 1986. It is planned to complete this in 11 years. It is particularly necessary to emphasize the need to ensure that all measures taken in connection with the reform will be carefully prepared, comprehensively and well-thought out and realistic. It is only by ensuring the appropriate conditions that it is possible to move forward to fulfill concrete plans.

However, what has been said should not lead to an inclination to protract the implementation of the reform. Gradualism, above all, implies a strict sequence and systematic work. There are many questions which cannot wait and must be solved without delay. Thus, already this year, a real step must be made in improving the conditions for work training and education of school-children as well as for their participation in socially useful work.

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## THE WAY THEY WERE

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[Article by Nikolay Proshunin]

[Text] I remain "enamored" of Marx and Engels.... Unquestionably, they are genuine people!--V. I. Lenin

In the ranks of many great sons of mankind, the historical personality of Karl Marx rises like a mountain peak illuminated by the sun. The brilliant revolutionary and scientist of inordinate range, the creator of "Das Kapital" is the entirely clear image of that Marx. That Marx is the property of society and is visible to the entire world. However, we increasingly would like to know what Karl Marx was like as a person.

Supporters of two seemingly conflicting "trends" in Western "Marxology" have tried to answer this question for quite some time. Some literary workers bow and scrape before Marx, acknowledging him as an original philosopher and honest supporter of the poor and deprived, and readily praise for the sake of "consoling" the workers his sincerity, dedication and other personal qualities. Along with their generous praise and concealed behind it, however, they present a distorted interpretation of his ideas and try to cast aspersions on them and to dull their revolutionary wedge. Others use the old method of people who are helpless in a struggle of principles: the best way to refute the views of a person is to defame the person himself. Naturally, they do not always act openly and rudely, but most frequently with an appearance of impartiality and loyalty.

Such writings include the claim that Marx's influence on those around him was almost entirely intellectual and scientific, whereas others, it is claimed, exerted on people their personal "individual-ethical" influence, attracting people with their character and their "lofty thoughts and behavior." Marx is thus deprived of something which was an inseparable part of his being: his tremendous moral authority and inordinate personal charm. They are taken away from a person who embodied with such total integrity and perfect harmony a genius of analysis and spiritual greatness; a person who in both his works and character transmitted to generations of revolutionaries the entire purity, charm and power of the inner content of communism as an outlook and a moral stance; a person whose beautiful life is the best proof of the thought that personal nobility is the strongest means of persuasion.



Luckily, we have at our disposal a mass of documents and facts indicating the truly great power of the personal influence exerted by the founders of proletarian ideology on their contemporaries. The readers should address themselves to the book "Vospominaniy o K. Markse and F. Engel'se" [Recollections About K. Marx and F. Engels], published by Politizdat in 1983. Compared with the 1956 collection, the new edition has been significantly expanded. Warm and touching articles, letters and telegrams have been published in the collection "Ikh Imena Perezhivut Veka. Mezhdunarodnyye Otkliki na Smert' Karla Marksa i Fridrikha Engel'sa" [Their Names Will Live Through the Centuries. International Reactions to the Death of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels] (Moscow, 1983). Most of the documents included in this work had never before been published in the Russian language and a significant number of them have never been published before at all. Another instructive reading of captivating interest is the 1983 publication "Perepiska Karla Marksa, Fridrikha Engel'sa i Chlenov Sem'i Marksa 1835-1871 gg." [Correspondence Between Karl and Marx and Friedrich Engels and Members of Marx's Family 1835-1871]. The readers of these books will find adequate thoughts for reflection and, together with Marx and Engels, will experience their joys and heavy losses, their happy or sad moments and their defeats and victories and will gain a better knowledge of the type of people they were.

Most recollections about Marx were written during a time when the masses knew little about his private life or about him as an individual. Until then it was almost exclusively his enemies who had spoken about Marx. They depicted him as an extremely intolerant and arrogant person who rejected all previous science, a sinister hater and just about the worst enemy of mankind,\* someone similar to a sarcastic and cold Jupiter, eternally throwing lightning bolts, without a smile, inaccessible on Mount Olympus.

Naturally, such views were unavoidable in the case of someone who attacked the old world with all the passion of his powerful temperament of philosopher and unyielding proletarian fighter; someone who was the sworn enemy of hired slavery and who instilled in the rich insurmountable fear; a person who said about himself with full justification that he "becomes merciless when it is a question of his personal honor or the honor of his party." However, to anyone who came closer to him, this "enraged Zeus thunderer," this stern and unapproachable ruler of Olympus proved to be a myth, the creation of the timorous imagination of vengeful bourgeois.

Marx's friends, who knew him at work and in everyday life, realized how important it was to disperse the stupid legends surrounding his name and to tell the truth about him. They were motivated by the desire to give people happiness, to take Marx closer to the people, to show, along with his great mind, his great heart which beat so warmly for all mankind. They considered the depiction of Marx as he was in reality a true act of justice as well as a useful project as a result of which Karl Marx, as his daughter Eleonore wrote, "would be better known and, therefore, more loved and respected."

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\* In a letter to Marx Engels pointed out that the public, i.e., the philistines, detest us in advance; we are accused if not of hating mankind in any case of hating the bourgeois kind, which to them is one and the same.

It is hardly necessary to point out how difficult and almost impossible it was to describe, without simplifications, such an immeasurable phenomenon as Marx. His personality cannot be broken down into individual "features." The features of this philosopher, who explained the world and did so much to change it, this defender of the right of labor in theory and a passionate fighter for its implementation in practice, this first communist in the most contemporary interpretation of this word, this powerful spokesman for internationalism, precise scientist, who dwelled deeply in "production and trade relations," this greatest of experts and lover of world art, this splendid person, simple of character and captivating in his contacts, were not individual aspects of Karl Marx the person. They were a single entity, a single personality equally varied and integral.

Those who were lucky enough to be in touch with Marx accepted him not only as the author of famous books. His friends and relatives were familiar with Marx's views and moral convictions not only from his scientific works but his attitude toward events and people and his actions. The tremendous height on which Marx stood did not distance him from them as a person. Neither "Das Kapital" nor any other work, in their view, could depict the entire amazing power of his extraordinary mind, the tremendous greatness of his genius and the entire amount of his vast knowledge. The tremendous captivating power which is shown in his works was clearly detected in Marx the person.

Marx deeply impressed others with his nobility and greatness. However, his natural behavior and simplicity were such that this depth and power suppressed no one. This fierce and thunderous debater, of exceptionally powerful personality which singled him out among others, was at the same time the most good-natured and accessible of people. Marx's imaginary alienation had nothing in common with his exceptional cheerfulness, willingness to accept someone's invitation to dine or to extend the invitation himself, to attend the theater or go for a walk in the country with others, and instantly to respond to anyone needing support and advice. The recollections abound in descriptions which enable us to see Marx from this human and intimate side of his nature.

In his intimate contacts, Marx was an affable, warm and sensitive person whose private life and relations with friends and acquaintances were characterized by his happy disposition, warm responsiveness, patience and goodness. A less good and restrained person would have frequently sent away people who were constantly taking him away from his work or turning to him with requests.

Marx never tried to produce an effect. He did not seek any easy successes or promote himself. He could not even conceive of emphasizing his importance through external means. He was too great, too strong and too proud to be vainglorious. However, he mortally hated any false greatness and fabricated glory which indicate lack of talent and meanness, as he hated any kind of play-acting, pomposity and falseness. To him noisy popularity was proof that the person had taken the wrong road. His favorite saying was Dante's proud line: "Go your way and let people talk!"

A characteristic feature of his modesty was the amazing carelessness which he showed toward his works after, in his view, they had fulfilled their purpose. In the majority of cases he did not retain a single copy of his books and frequently asked his friends to lend him their copies. Many of Marx's works remained largely unknown to the broad circles for long periods of time, for "he did not ring bells about them," as Friedrich Lessner remarked. Within the International as well, the fame of which had spread throughout the world, its leader kept himself in the background. He even left unanswered personal accusations hurled at him by unconscientious opponents, for the reason that, as he said, he would have had "to speak about himself."

He also possessed the qualities of immeasurable generosity, the greatest possible justice in acknowledging the importance of other people's works and scientific impartiality. Many names of far-from-famous authors have been perpetuated in his books! One could even suspect that he was quoting from unknown authors for the sake of displaying his erudition. Marx, however, was guided by something else. "I am creating the judgment of history and rendering to everyone according to his merits," he said and he deemed it his duty to name those who had been first to express one thought or another or to express it most accurately.

Personally, he neither obtained nor expected to obtain from the priests of official bourgeois political economy and philosophy a recognition of his scientific merits. During his lifetime they could not seek any revenge against him other than totally ignoring his books, "Das Kapital" above all. At a huge New York worker meeting which was held when Marx's death became known, A. Doue, a socialist speaker from Germany, angrily said: "There is nothing more shameful in the entire history of science than the way the German scientists, Marxian specialists themselves, have behaved toward his work and ignored it. They are now trying to bury it. If they disagree with the results of his greatest studies, in order to be scientifically honest they should refute them. If they are prepared to do so, they should speak out. If they are unable to refute these ideas or say anything about them, they must admit this. This is demanded by scientific honor and conscience. They have done nothing of the sort, with the exception of a few who did not participate in the general conspiracy of silence." The historical destinies of Marxism confirm the accuracy of the thought that in the final account nothing helps more the victory of truth than the fact of opposing it.

He was a splendid interlocutor who captivated anyone with whom he spoke with his arguments. In developing his views, Marx did not assume the stand of a missionary speaking from the pulpit. He did not adopt an instructive tone of voice. He was brief and mercilessly logical. He was able to say a great deal with a few words: each sentence was a thought and each thought was a necessary link in the chain of arguments. His way of conducting a political, scientific or simply friendly talk was informal, broad and creative, or sharply mocking or coated in the soft tonality of profound thoughts. He concentrated his entire mind on the essentials and that is precisely the way the conversation went, dealing with the essence of the matter. If his partner was truly interested, an equality was established between the interlocutors, regardless of the level of mastery of the subject. Marx was willing to



answer any question and invariably provided most thorough explanations accompanied by general philosophical considerations.

Marx loved to joke about himself and appreciated good jokes. Listening to a witticism or a cleverly parried answer, his eyes under his heavy eyebrows would sparkle with pleasure and his youthful, heart-warming laughter would erupt loudly. What Marx disagreed with he usually refuted in a jocular manner. Although he could rapidly throw his opponent off his horse, he never ground him into the dust or discouraged and denigrated him. He combined proper and considerate behavior with frankness and directness, and with a sincere desire to understand why people thought differently as well as the ability patiently to prove the erroneousness of their viewpoint. As a rule differences with comrades remained only while views were exchanged.

Marx showed a rare tolerance, naturally, within the framework of a communist outlook, of alien views. He never persisted in petty matters and never behaved and spoke as an oracle, intolerant of other views. He could hear out energetic objections and, occasionally, become enraged. Subsequently, however, he was even pleased at having encountered bold resistance. He could assess other people's arguments objectively and considered the acknowledgment of good points in his enemies the rule.

He ascribed exceptional importance to communicating and talking with workers. He sought to meet above all those who openly expressed their views and found flattery tiresome. He considered it very important to hear the views of simple members of the proletariat on the labor movement. He highly valued all honest aspirations and thoughts based on independent judgment. When he realized that someone was truly willing to learn something his patience was limitless and he deemed it necessary to answer even the most naive questions. No amount of work could reduce his readiness to discuss with the workers most important political and economic problems. He could immediately determine whether they understood such matters properly and the more they understood them the more he was pleased. Practical experience made Marx suspicious of claims to the effect that the workers were mastering his ideas perfectly. Aware of the great desire of the workers to improve their catastrophic situation, he was equally aware of how many among them nurtured childish concepts as to the ways leading to their liberation. Once he received a deputation of workers who asked him to resolve the social problem sooner, for they were in dire straits. In the course of his talks, Marx tactfully dispelled naive hopes. He taught others realistically to assess the situation and persistently cooled down excessive zeal and romantic enthusiasm of those who expected the imminent advent of the communist era. Under his influence, the people lost some of their enthusiasm and fantasies but gained purposefulness and knowledge.

Many of Marx's "admirers" included people who mentioned without reading, or read without understanding, his works. Nothing annoyed him more than tactless requests on the part of accidental interlocutors to "tell them something" about his theory. He did not honor such requests, classifying such persistence as idle curiosity. Once an impressive-looking gentleman asked him who would shine shoes in the state of the future. Losing his patience, Marx snapped: "This will be your job!"



He was curt with hypocrites, complacent ignoramuses and amateur political blabberers. It is true that he was rarely unrestrained. The barbs of his biting mockery were coated with a soft tone of voice, thus making them even more effective. An accurate strike and a lightning-quick joke came to him easily and spontaneously, hitting sharply at any hypocrisy, boasting or affectation. Marx felt particular disgust in the presence of phrasemongers who could explain all phenomena with a few clichés, and those he accused of phrasemongering would immediately feel his sobering and open rejection. It was precisely such individuals who defamed Marx's character and invented and disseminated fabrications about his quarrelsome disposition and arrogance. Conversely, many sincere revolutionaries could say, or almost say, after German Lopatin: "I loved Marx as a friend, respected him as a teacher and revered him as a father."

Nothing could be further from the truth than the idea that Marx and Engels were pure theoreticians, people of thought rather than action. V. I. Lenin was one of those who firmly rejected the "philistine accusations" according to which Marx and Engels understood nothing of practical affairs, knew nothing about people, and so on.

Karl Marx was above all a revolutionary for whom struggle was a passion and concept of personal happiness. Although seriously and totally involved in scientific work, he nevertheless found the time energetically to react to all problems which affected one way or the other the interests of the labor movement. He actively participated in any event in which theory could be converted into practice. He organized and supported the struggle of the masses. Marx believed that a scientist, unless he is willing to lower his standards, should not remain forever in his office without involving himself with life and with the social and political struggle waged by his contemporaries. The founding of the International Association of Workers was precisely the crowning point of Marx's comprehensive practical efforts. This was a truly great accomplishment of which, as Engels said, Marx could be proud even had he done nothing else in his life.

In general, what does a pitting of thoughts against actions mean in terms of people such as Marx and Engels? Is the "Communist Party Manifesto," which appeared and gained immortality as a result of the revolutionary Alliance of Communists they created, not action? Is "Das Kapital"--the flagbearer of the science of socialism--not action? Does "Anti-Duhring," which is a landmark in the development of scientific outlook, not retain its full practical significance and effectiveness? Marx and Engels considered science the most powerful lever of social progress, a revolutionary force. It is precisely as such that they used it, helping with their thinking the enhancement of the working class and, with it, all mankind. To them writing meant acting, for each one of their books was the equivalent of a battle. Action inspired them to think and their thoughts turned to action.

The fact that Marx, who reached such a depth of knowledge concerning his contemporary society and the interests and motive forces of the class struggle, had not reached a greater knowledge of people, applied to the ordinary meaning of the term. Geniuses, those grown-up children of mankind, do not

shine with excessive perspicacity. It was not by accident that Marx's wife called him "my big child." Although Marx did not lack the talent of a sensitive psychologist, this was not always apparent in ordinary life, for he did not always use his knowledge of the human heart. As a rule, he tended not to blame others, to make value judgments of the people he happened to meet and, since like all strong personages he exaggerated the qualities of others and was quite trustful, cunning people frequently misused his sincerity. The same touching trustfulness and simplicity were inherent in Engels as well, who also had to experience bitter disappointments and black ingratitude; some of the people to whom he had done a lot of good subsequently referred to him inimically.

Yet how vigilant Marx and Engels were politically! Whenever Marx had particular reasons and the wish to deal with a specific individual, his critical eyes were deeply piercing. In such cases Marx's perspicacity far outstripped events. A case in point is the story with Charles Bradlow, a British politician. Having come from the people, and as an able speaker and agitator, he tempestuously spoke out against exploitation and oppression and it seemed as though he could greatly contribute to the proletarian movement. However, grinning Marx said that, in his view, sooner or later Bradlow would sell out to the bourgeoisie. With his sharp revolutionary sense he had perceived the conceived readiness of this hypocritical person to commit treason. This prediction turned out to be entirely accurate. After Bradlow became popular and became a member of Parliament, he changed and soon afterwards his voice, as Marx wrote, blended with the universal chorus of slanders directed at the International. Previously, this turncoat had even wanted to join the International Association, but met with Marx's opposition. Marx was able to keep out of this organization careerists who used the shoulders of the workers only as a stepping stone to something higher...

Occasionally Marx would say the following: we are working for an 8-hour work-day but we ourselves frequently work twice that number of hours. How great were his efforts in organizing the International alone, and all the manifestos and appeals he drafted; what a great deal of time he spent in his extensive correspondence, the lectures and reports he delivered and the great concern he showed for the communards who had emigrated to London. He carried out all such obligations for free, after which he had to sit at his desk to earn a living. He was hit hard by refusals to have his works published. When one of Marx's children died in London he had no money to bury him. Yes, "the revolution," as F. Sorge pointed out, "was not his milk cow." It was for the sake of the revolution that he abandoned a university career and endured exile and the slander of enemies. It was to the revolution that he sacrificed his health and the tranquility of his family. Nevertheless, throughout his life he never accepted a penny from the workers. On the contrary, although experiencing the bitter need of the exile, he was ready to help others and helped them beyond his means.

To the very end of his days he did not neglect his intensive scientific work. He always found his work both easy and difficult: it was easy because, whatever the topic, he could immediately see in his mind pertinent facts and considerations in their totality, gained as a result of long mental work;

however, it was precisely as a result of this totality of knowledge and observations that the exhaustive presentation of his ideas became difficult and required a great deal of time. He was never satisfied with his work, changing it again and again and always finding that the presentation was not on the level of his thoughts. He could instantly reject the theoretical conclusions he had liked and had reached after hard work, the moment he became convinced of their inaccuracy.

He never considered any work too tiring or too boring. Never did he allow in his works even the slightest inaccuracy or slovenliness. As he himself said, his theoretical conscience did not allow him to go on writing without having read all books on the subject. He could not rest in such cases, although the various publications he studied did not always bring him pleasure. He admitted to his daughter that "you probably think, my dear child, that I am greatly enamored of books.... You are very wrong. I am merely a machine doomed to devour them and then throw them, already changed, in the dustbin of history."

Marx did not allow himself to cite even a single fact or figure which could not be supported by most authoritative sources. He firmly refused to use second-hand information; in order to check even an insignificant fact he would hurry to the library of the British Museum to check its accuracy. Engels was the same. He described the search for necessary books as "pursuit of sources." He did not acknowledge second-hand quotations. At all cost he tried to use original sources, "for it is out of them that one could draw infinitely more than out of their processed versions which make foggy and confused anything which they express clearly and simply."

Few of his contemporaries who left to us recollections about Marx and Engels have failed to write even briefly about their unusual friendship. One cannot think of Marx without thinking at the same time of Engels, and vice versa: their lives have become so closely intertwined as to blend into a single life. As the greatest theoretician of scientific socialism, Engels was Karl Marx's alter ego and his loyal fellow worker and spiritual brother. A noteworthy statement was made by Wilhelm Liebknecht about this indivisible unity, speaking at Engels' grave: "The death of Friedrich Engels is Marx's second death." As long as Engels remained in his post, it was as though Marx lived as well, and the people experienced their combined ideological and moral influence.

Marx and Engels achieved the ideal of friendship which poets had glorified since antiquity. They were frequently compared to the Dioscuri--mythological twin heroes, one of whom shared his immortality with the other. Marx considered friendship sacred. He was able to hate profoundly precisely because he could love profoundly and loyally. "...In the bustle of this world," he wrote, "friendship is the only thing of importance in private life...." The friendship between Marx and Engels, which made them fellow workers, became their fellow worker itself: their genius rose high on its wings.

Let us point out here that, naturally, it would be wrong to depict the relationship between Marx and Engels as a sort of shining idyll. It too was tested for strength. However, Marx and Engels were able to surmount with



dignity occasionally quite sharp disagreements, through the strength of their spiritual brotherhood, so that in the final account they left no traces of bitterness or annoyance. The thought of Engels supported Marx in all his trials. It was to Engels that he turned first in joy or in sadness. Their entire lives were full of danger and each one of them was the sword and shield of the other. Marx lived with the constant worry that some misfortune would befall the irrepressible and furiously active Engels and always tried to find ways to please him. He was proud of him. On one occasion he received a letter from his publisher in Hamburg, who reported that he had been visited by Engels and that he had thus had the opportunity to meet the most charming person he had ever come across. "I would like to meet a person," Marx exclaimed, interrupting his reading, "who would fail to consider Fred as likeable as he is educated!"

Marx cared for Engels' opinion more than for that of anyone else. He considered Engels an entire audience; sometimes, in order to make Engels agree with an idea, Marx would spare no effort, seek additional facts and reread entire volumes. To have Engels agree with his viewpoint was to Marx an event. He constantly admired the sharpness and amazing flexibility of Engels' mind, which enabled him so easily to leap from one subject to another, as well as Engels' work stamina: "...He writes and thinks," he lovingly said about Engels, "quickly, like a devil..." In turn Engels admired Marx's powerful strength of analysis and synthesis.

As is now well-known, Engels literally rescued Marx and his family from the threat of death from hunger. Their manly friendship was free of even the slightest hint of sentimentality, marked as it was by infinite trust and reciprocal tender attachment. Sentimentality, this caricature of true feelings, sickened Marx. He fully shared Goethe's low opinion of sentimental people: in any accident they invariably proved to be poor comrades. This feeling was shared by Engels. He extended his fraternal attachment to Marx to friendship with his entire family. Marx's daughters called him their second father. Engels' entire being brimmed with the same selfless concern and profound love for them as that of Marx himself.

This makes even more disgusting the shameful intrigue voiced by the British reformist Hindman, who claimed in his "Memoirs" that Engels, whom he had never even met, was a suspicious and jealous person, Marx's "evil genius," allegedly inclined in his relations with those he helped materially to extract from this some advantages. Lenin was profoundly right by describing such blabberings about Engels' "intrigues" as unmentionable vileness. "Even if the rest of Hindman's book," he wrote, "were like a full bucket of honey, this lie alone would have tarred it...."

One can easily imagine Marx's rebuttal of such shallow fabrications. When a comrade visiting him dared to point out that Engels, as a wealthy person, could have done more to free Marx from difficult material worries, Marx interrupted him sharply: relations between Engels and me, he said, are so close and intimate that no one has the right to interfere in them.

A note sounded by some authors according to which friendship with Marx caused Engels "secret pain" is hardly accurate. The pain of jealousy, which cor-



rodes like rust the brain and the heart, could not penetrate even for a moment into the great soul of Marx's great friend. No one more than Engels could express indignation and scorn for petty jealous people, whose dislike of Marx was occasionally manifested in such an unseemly manner that they tried to ascribe to others even his own discoveries. "Of course, it is entirely natural," he said, "that one could have one's opinion on the actions of party members in one case or another, whoever they may be; one could also have differences and argue about some theoretical problem. However, to dispute in this manner the discoveries made by a man such as Marx means to show one's limitations.... In general, I fail to understand how one could be envious of a genius. This phenomenon is so unique that we, who do not have such a gift, know in advance that it is inaccessible to us; however, in order to be envious of this one must be totally insignificant oneself."

Engels' spiritual exploit is precisely the fact that he freely subordinated himself to the superior genius. He did this freely and selflessly, without the least amount of doubt or hesitation. Aware of what Marx's very name meant to the working class, he was able to restrict himself. He tried to stand somewhat behind in order not to cast a shadow on the powerful figure of his outstanding friend. His joy at the successes of the cause for the sake of which, hand in hand with Marx, he had worked for 40 years was incomparably more precious to him than concern for his own glory. Engels was proud not of his own scientific merits but of the working class, when its actions were consistent with his hopes. He welcomed every victory of the workers and the communists with total enthusiasm and the only thing which saddened him was that his unforgettable friend could no longer experience this feeling. "If only Marx could see this!" he frequently exclaimed. The fact that, in his own words, during Marx's life he had played "second fiddle," and put himself in the background, brilliantly reflects Engels' character without, however, reducing his importance on the intellectual level.

To discuss Engels--the fighter, the philosopher and the man--means also largely to speak of Marx, so great was their similarity as people of energy, willpower and unshakeable convictions. They not only shared identical views, tastes and aspirations but also a soul. Nevertheless, they were quite different in terms of character and temperament and literary style. They had their own originality and clearly expressed individuality.

Engels, like Marx, is depicted in the recollections of his contemporaries, as a person of rare charm. His biographers have noted his generosity and attention to others and the nobility and openness of his character. He attracted people like a magnet with the power of his penetrating mind, his bright and comprehensive view of things around him, his cheerfulness and optimism, based on a profound understanding of the objective laws of historical development, and his confidence in the inevitable triumph of communism.

Those who met with him felt the beneficial influence of his outstanding personality, were captivated by the simplicity and warmth of his character and were blinded by the brilliance of his all-embracing erudition and phenomenal knowledge. Engels sometimes said with jocular pride that he had never taken an examination in his life. However, nor had he ever stopped learning. It amazed everybody that Engels, who hardly looked like an ivory tower

scientist, and considering his political biography rich in events, could acquire such an amount of infinitely varied knowledge.

It was a joy to him to share his knowledge and experience. He was distinguished by his constant readiness to suggest a solution, to help understand difficult scientific and social problems and an almost fantastic, in the good meaning of the term, aspiration to explain and teach. No person who had ever asked his advice had failed to obtain it and to realize that it was the best. Those around him particularly valued his ability to approach people, to understand their problems and to become profoundly interested in what affected them. A conversation with him was illuminating. Like Marx, he was able to find the most accurate word for each shade of thought and to unravel and explain in a few sentences something which appeared unclear and confused. This is not to say that his views were absolute, that everyone had to obey him or that he ever claimed to be infallible.

Despite his erudition and authoritativeness, he did not show any feeling of superiority and no case is known in which he may have insulted with a word or a gesture someone with less education. In Engels' company people felt free and acted naturally. It was entirely unnecessary to select suitable words or turns of speech in advance, while preparing for a meeting with him: Engels' simplicity encouraged people to be themselves in his presence. They had to consider not how to avoid expressing any kind of heresy or stupidity, but how to get to the heart of the matter. All fear that arguments would be labeled in advance disappeared. In conversations he was able to conduct in an attractive yet profound manner, the fresh wind of argument frequently blew and Engels was always persuasive. However, even if he failed to change someone's mind, he still taught him something. He pacified passions and a discussion never acquired even a shade of personal hostility thanks to the breath of his convictions and ability scientifically to clarify controversial problems. Nor did hostility appear when some revolutionaries, who thought that the struggle for the cause of socialism resembled an easy walk, heard Engels' harsh truths. Usually, after an argument once again he behaved in a friendly manner, as though nothing had happened.

Although Karl Marx was his best friend, Engels' world was sufficiently vast to include other friendly relations as well. Although burdened by many concerns, he found the time to remember his friends, to support them and to encourage them if necessary. He was generous and helped the needy without asking unnecessary questions.

Engels was strict in everything but without even a shadow of stiff pedantry; he was precise and punctual in relations with people without any conventionality. There was nothing unnatural or studied in his character; he had confidence in his strength, equal to the exigency he showed toward himself, and any type of slackness was alien to him; he was distinguished by his crystal-pure honesty in daily political life and impeccable literary and scientific conscientiousness. In addition to such outstanding qualities, he also possessed an inexhaustible salutary gift of humor. As a universal scientist, like the giants of the Renaissance, this great toiler was a gay man who loved entertainment. He had a warm perception of the world. He

could laugh heartily and loved to hear others laugh, and more than anything the pure laughter of children.

Those who imagined him as some kind of exigent petty critic were wrong. Actually, he rarely referred to others in a deprecating manner. "The only thing that Engels never forgives is hypocrisy," wrote Eleonore Marx on the occasion of his 70th birthday. "A person who is insincere with himself, not to mention someone disloyal to his party will find no mercy in Engels. He considers this to be the most unforgiveable sin.... Engels is the most exacting person in the world, in whom the feeling of duty and, particularly, party discipline, is higher than in anyone I've ever met. At the same time, he is infinitely remote from Puritanism. No one better than he can understand everything and, therefore, so easily excuse our petty weaknesses."

Engels' friends remembered him as a model of wonderful hospitality. Weekdays he worked hard and stayed rather alone. On Sundays, he loved to meet with people. As an attentive and warm host, invariably trying to make others comfortable, he truly enjoyed pleasing his friends and offering them the best of everything he had. Engels' home in London was considered as some kind of international territory. His guests were the concentrated expression of the socialist movement. Paul Lafargue remembers how many London socialists, how many comrades passing through England and how many exiles from all countries rallied behind his fraternal table on Sundays! His regular Russian visitors included Plekhanov, Vera Zasulich and Stepnyak-Kravchinskiy, who needed no special invitation. The greatest charms of Engels' warm table was conversation, the "good Rhine wine" of his brilliant speech and his wit. He was equally happy to discuss a serious topic or engage in a gay light talk or make a joke in any language. He could address anyone in his own language. "Engels can stutter in 20 languages," said one exiled member of the Commune, joking about Engels' tendency to stutter slightly when excited.

The entire atmosphere in these encounters was informal, comradely and cheerful, although on a highly intellectual level. Everyone was aware of being the guest of a great man who lived with and was interested in major problems. His mood was always good and he shared with those around him his cheerfulness, willingly describing interesting events and comical situations in his stormy life, and livening the conversation with his spontaneous and contagious cheerfulness. The guests were absolutely charmed by such evenings. Many things became clearer to them and they received a new charge of faith and courage from such simple and warm conversations with Karl Marx's friend and fellow worker.

Naturally, this is not to say that Engels invited people indiscriminately and easily established a personal acquaintanceship with them. Despite the extraordinary extent of their relations with European socialists, democrats, political leaders and scientists, Marx's and Engels' hospitality and friendship were not identically extended to everyone but were reserved essentially for those they trusted, and those who had earned this trust could rely on it unconditionally.

One of Engels' outstanding character features was his goodness toward young people, whose society he particularly loved. He frequently set aside his own



work to help a novice. Although he enjoyed the highest possible reputation after Marx as a scientist and teacher of the proletariat throughout the civilized world, he allowed no veneration of his person. When one of the Russian revolutionaries started to express to Engels his admiration of him as the "spiritual head" of the labor movement and to speak of his historical merits, Engels laughed and interrupted the guest:

"Now, now, my young comrade.... Enough, why do we need this exchange of pleasantries between socialists? No ceremony. Your throat must be parched from such oratorical exercises.... Sit down and wet it with a beer."

Those whom the gods love die young, the Greeks say. Engels was doubly fortunate: he lived to a ripe old age yet died young. The inordinate talents of this person had been growing from adolescence to canonical age and he reached the peak of his historical creativity during the last decade of his life. As though feeling obligated to work for two--for himself and for Karl Marx-- he became amazingly active. It was as though the years had affected him in such a way that with spiritual maturity the freshness of his thoughts increased. At the peak of his life he was as cheerful, full of humor and enthusiastic as during the time of his active youth. At the 1893 Socialist Congress in Zurich, when representatives of the workers of all countries welcomed him with ovations, he looked as though some kind of magic was protecting him from old age and weakness. Tall and straight, he walked with balanced and elegant steps and appeared far younger than his years.

He remained true to this daring and rebellious spirit throughout his lifetime. In his young years he took part in a popular uprising. He took part in three battles for freedom with a gun in his hands, and those who saw him under fire described many years afterwards his exceptional coolness and absolute scorn of all danger. Those who were with him during his final days testified to his fearlessness in the face of the inevitable.

No vicissitudes of fate could crush his will to fight. He accepted all misfortunes courageously, with a carelessness which bordered on gaiety. An inflexible fighter for the cause of the working class, he did not die as a person tired of life but as one of those whom death surprises at the peak of active and inspired efforts. Death caught up with him but did not win.

Nothing could have pleased Engels more, Franz Mehring wrote in 1905, than the historical fight of revolutionary Russia, the gigantic outbreak of the flame, the sparks of which were fanned by Marx and Engels, something which is not the least of their contributions to the international worker movement. Revolutionaries to the marrow of their bones, they always considered the overthrow of tsarist despotism a great turning point in the proletarian revolution. To strike tsarism at its very heart was the task which they never neglected. The leading detachment of the Russian revolution was imbued with their spirit and raised in their doctrine. The rays of the morning sun on the east shed light on the grave in the British capital, where Marx the revolutionary is resting, and the waves of the sea which absorbed the dust of Engels, the revolutionary.



They were philosophers who had unraveled the course of history and had laid for the proletariat a reliable path to the future. They had no greater aspiration or happiness than serving the interests of the working class, to the struggle for whose liberation they had dedicated their fiery souls, the energy of their mind and the entire power of their will. They had no principles which they did not practice wherever possible. They lived and acted the way they wrote. This is the way they were in small things and in everything else.

We, communists, feel our spirits rise with the feeling of joy and pride by thinking of what Marx, Engels and Lenin represented and what rich treasury of ideas they left us. Only the proletariat could bring up such great revolutionaries and develop such characters. Their scientific work is not the only thing they left to the entire thinking world. Marx, Engels and Lenin, the intellectual and moral leaders of mankind, its great prototypes and uncompromising fighters for its happiness, will forever remain the embodiment of spiritual beauty and an example of the art of living in the loftiest meaning of this term, and an inspiring ideal to ever-new generations.

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## SOCIAL IMPACT OF THE PRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 84 (signed to press 3 May 84) pp 47-56

[Article by Dr of Historical Sciences S. Tsukasov on topical problems of the interaction between press and public opinion]

[Text] The need which the Soviet person feels for spiritual food is as permanent and natural as his daily bread. This fully applies to social information which, as a necessary part of the ideological and political potential of society, closely involves everyone with major and minor events at home and in the course of contemporary global developments. Press materials and television and radio broadcasts have become a vital requirement for millions and millions of people, for virtually the entire adult population which absorbs through them the party's policy and compares against the efforts of the entire nation the people's individual participation in implementing tasks and resolving problems. The real "returns" of this process of enriching the masses with the ideas, experience and study of facts and trends of social practice are manifested not only on the individual level but, which is particularly important, in shaping public opinion.

With its profoundly democratic nature, developed socialism naturally enhances the role of public opinion. It is exerting an increasing influence on various aspects of life, the atmosphere in labor collectives and the production and political activeness of the people, contributing to the transformation of their knowledge into convictions and their convictions into actions. Last but not least, it influences the activities of the various social institutions, including the information-propaganda complex itself. Its interconnection with public opinion develops not one-sidedly or spontaneously but on the basis of the party's tireless efforts to improve all units within the complex in accordance with the rising standard of spiritual maturity of the masses and in the interests of further social progress.

The conditions under which we live and work, the 26th CPSU Congress noted, have changed considerably and the Soviet person has become different: his knowledge and erudition have been enhanced and his spiritual requirements have increased. It was on this basis that a comprehensive long-term program for upgrading the efficiency of ideological activities was formulated at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It emphasized that such activities must become more active and creative, that a great deal remained to be learned in this respect and that our main enemies along this way were formalism, stereotype, timidity and, in some cases, laziness of thought. As was

pointed out at the plenum, we must learn more in terms of mass information and propaganda media, above all so that each article or speech may interest and convince the people through their profound study of life and principled-mindedness, sharp thinking and vivid style.

The implementation of such tasks is a rather complex matter which requires not only thoughtful and skilled party management but the reinterpretation of a number of habitual canons of journalistic practice and a clear understanding of many new professional problems. In this connection, I would like to share some considerations based on a compilation of studies on the effectiveness with which the press influences public opinion and my personal experience as a journalist.

In comparing the press to a spiritual mirror in which the people see themselves and with the help of which they confess to themselves, K. Marx pointed out that "like life itself, the press is always in a state of establishing and nothing in it is ever completed" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 1, p 166). Our press--the true mirror of the people's life--is currently undergoing a major stage in its development. As a zealous propagandist, active agitator and militant organizer, it carries out such inviolable Leninist traditions and shows its organic party-mindedness in the mature socialist society somewhat differently, for its main functions have become deeper and have acquired a contemporary content.

There was a time when the difficult problems of the country's socioeconomic transformation were resolved essentially with an extreme stress of forces and appeals in the press, whose "slogan enthusiasm" became a logic of action and catalytic agent for the dedication and enthusiasm of the working people. Today, when the very scale of our economic construction has expanded immeasurably and when upgrading production efficiency, accelerating scientific and technical progress and perfecting economic management have become the focal point of social attention, a simple "slogan" or "guiding concept" is significantly lower and weaker than at any other time as a force which can mobilize public opinion.

The innovative and daring party approach to imminent socioeconomic and political problems, which is imbued with the spirit of creative Marxism-Leninism and is scientifically and realistically substantiated, embodies the unbreakable unity between word and action. To the mass information media to be now on the level of party-mindedness means, above all, to analyze and evaluate reality on the basis of the fact that words as well can turn into action and to polish with a substantiated but also innovative party-minded daring its specific means of influencing society ideologically and organizationally.

The study of the reaction to materials published in mass publications in labor collectives proves that among all sociological criteria various materials which "encourage" are in the last place and that their organizing and educating power is not particularly great. Today the readers accept with real interest a profoundly substantiated analysis of the actual pluses and minuses of social life undiluted with "rose water," and the consistent and frank formulation of existing problems, their extensive and fruitful discussion, clear political summations and constructive solutions.

The level of the problems which appear at the stage of perfecting mature socialism and the conversion to intensive economic development methods require a different approach, above all in terms of the essential aspect of press activities. One of the main features of this work, related to enhancing the influence of the press on public opinion, is an organic unity in depicting facts of social life and their ideological and political interpretation. This precisely is the situation in which words and actions and "theoretical and practical work blend within a single effort" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 1, p 309). This presumes the ability to identify through Marxist-Leninist analysis and scientifically to explain the profound nature of phenomena. Today, when the consciousness of the public has reached a qualitatively new level, such clear theoretical "decoding" of the processes developing in reality, void of triteness and aimed at mass perception, becomes particularly necessary.

Our press resolves this problem above all through its conceptual materials. In recent years, thanks to the successes of the social sciences, such materials have become, as a rule, broader in terms of topics, more analytical, and equipped with fresher and more convincing arguments. Nevertheless, the actual range of readers of theoretical and propaganda publications remains relatively narrow and they are relatively rarely discussed in private conversations or at public meetings. One of the reasons for the insufficiently social response to many such articles, in our view, is due to their academic and pretentious nature, as a result of which topical practical problems sometimes remain unnoticed by their authors. Naturally, the press is not a textbook the various chapters of which systematically offer scientific information, the more so given today's level of education and information of the readers, when huge areas of historical experience have been transformed from experience into textbook materials. Equally counterindicated are simple illustrations, impartial theorizing and remoteness from the topic of the day. A conceptual article published in the periodical press on any topic cannot be purely instructive, abstractly scientific or factually down to earth. "Theory enriched with new experience and experience creatively interpreted in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory," Comrade K. U. Chernenko, Central Committee general secretary, noted at the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "have always been and remain a most important source of strength of our party."

The firm alloy of factual data extracted from reality and theoretical summations, based on its analysis, in the course of which the reader becomes a coparticipant in thoughts and conclusions, is the way leading to enhancing the efficiency of conceptual publications. In presenting the real course and contradictions of our development, they must mandatorily carry within themselves new constructive ideas and encourage the people to substantiate their own views and to develop an active social stance.

Editors who deal with complex ideological topics sometimes worry that such problems may be exceptionally sensitive and that they may not be understood. Yet, a dialogue between the press and public opinion means, in all cases, to provide answers to even the most complex problems in such a way as to persuade, while avoiding the possibility itself of misunderstanding, simplification or erroneous interpretations and concepts.



Let us recall Lenin's thought that while working in the masses, the party must enhance their political consciousness to the highest possible level and not be guided in the least by the level of consciousness of the most backward strata. Vladimir Il'ich compared the party to a big school which was primary, secondary and higher at the same time. This big school, he wrote, must never under any circumstance forget its job of teaching the alphabet and imparting embryonic knowledge and the way to think independently. However, anyone who would conceive of ignoring problems of higher knowledge with references to the alphabet, "would display incredible short-sightedness. He could even contribute to the total distortion of the entire meaning of this great school..." (op. cit., vol 10, p 358). Where is the line which separates simplicity from primitivism and popularization from vulgarization? It is clearly drawn in Lenin's words: "A popular writer does not presume a reader who does not think, who is unwilling or unable to think..." (op. cit., vol 5, p 358).

The understanding of conceptual articles in the press and not only in the press, and the impact of the printed work on public opinion are largely determined by principle-mindedness and militancy. Lenin, who considered principle-mindedness not simply as the establishment of an ideological-political position but an obligation to assert party-mindedness in the struggle against the ideological enemy and against anything stagnant, backward and contrary to our ideals and our cause, considered this one of the main prerequisites for the real influence of the press: "...Could there be an organ of progressive democracy which is not a militant organ in crucial times?" (op. cit., vol 48, p 95). Militancy, however, is not at all the sister of thunderous shrieking, which essentially conceals a defensive position. Polemical sharpness presumes the anticipated formulation of vital problems, substantive analysis of reasons and convincing and proveable arguments. Such a militant aggressiveness of propaganda and counterpropaganda is particularly necessary today, both by virtue of the aggravated ideological confrontation in the world arena and the fact that the broad masses in our country are increasingly participating in policy making. In turn, this plays an increasing role in the development of public consciousness.

By its very nature journalism interprets local, isolated and individual events in terms of general happenings. It raises the individual fact to a political level. In terms of the party press this means dialectically to relate "socialism and the political struggle to any narrow problem of local significance" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 4, p 270). The contemporary requirements of our society call for the further politicization of newspaper and journal materials. Naturally, it is not a question merely of a comprehensive interpretation of political life itself but of a permanent analysis of the various areas of social activity from the positions of the party and the ability truthfully and clearly to interpret in the press facts, phenomena and events in the light of party policy. Truthfulness may be superficial or limited to photographic accuracy and become distorted the moment it becomes a question of interpreting the meaning of events. The works of bourgeois propagandists are crowded with efforts at ostentatious "truthfulness." Marxist-Leninist publicism is basically alien to any political innuendoes, not to mention political hypocrisy.

Our party policy is clear and we are ready to answer any questions which the Soviet people may ask, the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out. The speeches of the leaders of the party and the state, published in the press, are examples of a frank discussion which sheds light on the political facts of social life and identify its major problems. The persuasiveness of views on sensitive problems and their comprehensive, principle-minded and constructive analysis, which rises from individual examples to conclusions of party and statewide significance, and the confidential and practical tone of such addresses contribute to the fact that they are welcomed by the working people with satisfaction, discussed throughout the country and, following an active reaction to them in terms of social perception, exert a beneficial influence on the work and mood of millions of people.

Under contemporary conditions, along with the ideological-political saturation, the significance of the scientific competence of the press increases substantially. It is precisely the intellectual factor--the aspiration to broaden both the political and the scientific outlook--which is assuming a notable role in the reasons for turning to the press. Noteworthy in this connection, in our view, are two essential aspects.

The prestigious word of authoritative people, who play an important part in shaping public opinion, is a major instrument in the work of the periodical press as a mass rostrum. We know that our newspapers and journals rely most actively on the members of all social strata and professional and other social groups. However, we cannot ignore the fact that the social "importance" of the authors today is determined above all by the inner richness of the personality, which is authoritative and of interest to the broad readership, less because of the position held by the author than his intellect, political maturity, contemporary way of thinking and vital experience and example.

Furthermore, it is obvious that the thirst for scientific knowledge cannot be satisfied one-sidedly, merely through educational materials. The blending of individual with social practice, i.e., once again the unbreakable combination of words and actions, is influenced essentially by the knowledge which contributes, directly or indirectly, to enhancing the efficiency of labor activities. That is why it is insufficient for publicism today to be erudite, for this is manifested only in the cognitive interpretation of new scientific data; it must be manifested more clearly in actively clearing the way to the implementation of new developments and the concentration of the attention of the public on specific opportunities for the practical utilization of our increasing scientific potential.

Lenin's fundamental principle relative to the mass nature of the Soviet press is manifested both in the scale of its distribution and profound democratic content and its ability to accumulate within itself the collective view of the party and the experience of the people. This is best achieved through forms of work which include a wide circle of people in discussions, studies of practical experience and searches for new and efficient decisions. A conviction created on the basis of a discussion becomes rooted more deeply in the mind and contributes not only to achieving unity of thought but unity of action. In recent years, various discussions which have triggered thousands

of responses have become firmly established in the arsenal of our press. A number of newspapers have sections on sounding public opinion on the subject of new socioeconomic experiments which may be interesting yet also controversial. Many periodical publications always find a place for extended and meaningful transcriptions of speeches in "business clubs," various types of meetings and talks in labor collectives. In other words, they describe the very process through which a collective opinion is formulated in the main environment where this takes place, thus offering the readers the possibility of participating in this process. In developing and perfecting such methods, which strengthen the reputation of our press and the trust of the masses in it, it is important, however, to display maximal objectivity and "take not individual facts but the totality of facts relative to the problem under consideration, without a single exception" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 30, p 351). This largely determines the persuasiveness of discussions.

In general, a comprehensive approach, which covers a variety of facets of any problem, is one of the basic conditions for efficient contemporary political journalism. The more complex the problem and the greater its social importance, the broader and more widespread must be the research "charge" of the printed matter aimed at public opinion. This can be confirmed by press articles on innovative experience. The idea of perfecting developed socialism, which is now the basis of all party propaganda and education efforts, gives positive example a power of essential importance and enables our mass information media actively to fulfill their purpose as rostrums for anything new and progressive. However, are such articles sufficiently effective? The study of their social returns proves that the real influence and the very "readability" of press publications on valuable experience are still far from assuming the role which is justly theirs.

In our view, this is due to several reasons. To begin with, sections and headlines which classify articles in this area sometimes artificially include daily ordinary facts which are remote from truly efficient and instructive practical experience. Such information is rarely compared to other similar methods in identifying the real advantages of a new development. The contradiction between form and content devaluates somehow the interest of the public in such articles. Secondly, the range of topics in disseminating experience in the press remains relatively narrow. Such materials, particularly in the local press, frequently deal with economic topics in which they emphasize technological factors and achieved indicators, i.e., they are clearly aimed at an insignificantly small audience, at specialists in a specific area. Experience in managerial, economic and organizational work, related to ensuring the efficiency of an innovation, is a different matter: it is interesting and important to a variety of labor collectives and people of different occupations and professions, and could be a basis for discussing useful ideas and actions under different specific production conditions. Finally, materials on progressive experience must not be limited to a description (albeit most conscientious and complete), which still happens, for it is not a question of praising an innovation. The active and constructive role of the press is related to the need to determine the area and means of its dissemination, to describe it to public opinion, while looking ahead and helping to surmount elements of conservatism, departmentalism and parochialism in the mass utilization of useful experience.



It is precisely comprehensiveness, in the broad interpretation of the term, which contributes to strengthening the unity between words and actions and the development of a new type of economic thinking which, as was emphasized at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum and is aimed at initiative and socialist enterprise and at enhancing responsibility and a creative search for ways leading to the best end national economic results with lowest possible outlays.

The interaction between the press and public opinion on the level of the current requirements governing ideological work depends, in addition to its essential aspects, on the journalistic tools which must be consistent with public demand. Let us consider briefly some problems which appear in this area.

An important aspect of persuasive and intelligible political journalism is the combination between the rational and emotional factors. Those who have good thoughts and good feelings can write well for the mass audience. According to Marx, the press "is a feature of the intelligence and equally so of the feelings of the people" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 1, p 206). In the mature socialist society, in which the individual develops with increasing harmony and in which his needs and social role are enhanced, this statement acquires a most profound meaning. However, in our journalistic practice, particularly in the case of the press, with its limited space and multiple topics and an endless flow of current information, appealing to the feelings of the readers appears to have been pushed into the background and is considered of less importance.

So-called "production" business features, including articles on the socialist competition, are saturated with elements of a moral nature relatively rarely and poorly describe the spiritual, the emotional world of man. In frequent cases purely "moral" articles are of local significance. They are of minor social interest and are based on superficial and artificial emotionalism, which hardly creates a feeling of involvement. Some articles are so dry as to be "buttoned up" against any feelings the readers may have. Naturally, this adversely affects the public's perception: "...Without 'human emotions' a human search for the truth has never been, is not and cannot be possible" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 25, p 112).

Therefore, a reasonable correlation among political content, scientific knowledge, fullness of information and emotional factors, which largely determine the influence of the printed word, has become an essential methodological problem in journalism. It includes all problems related to the integration among and reciprocal enrichment of genres, the efficient use of artistic methods in political journalism and improvements in stylistic variety, based on the increased requirements of the public and the specifics of reading the press today.

It would be useful for specialized publications to consider such problems in detail. Let us note here merely the clear conflict, which is directly related to the public "consumption" of press materials and the response which they trigger. The aspiration to use inspiring words, to improve the aesthetics,



to make the text "closer" to literature and to enhance the "readability" of the text exclusively with the help of garish stylistic methods, which remains to a certain extent typical of our journalism does not, as a rule, enjoy the broad support of the mass public. A practical analytical approach, combined with a deep penetration into the world of human relations is achieved above all with the help of thoughts and not with "sweet talk." This makes even more obvious the need to use sparingly in the periodical press the means, methods and linguistic tools inherent in fiction, thus avoiding self-conscious writing.

Therefore, in order to improve the effectiveness of the press several new aspects of its interaction with the readers and, in the broader sense, with public opinion, arise. It is important, therefore, to raise to a level which is higher and more consistent with contemporary assignments the study of this interaction and journalistic practices.

Our press, which is one of the main units in the information-propaganda party complex, also occupies an important position within the system of societal democratic institutions. Its persuasive influence on public opinion is manifested not only directly but through a number of channels. Alongside the ideological standard and quality of journalistic work, consistent with the contemporary requirements of the mass audience, the efficiency of this influence is affected by a number of other factors.

Specifically, what are they? First of all, the extent to which the press is used in the ideological-political and educational work of the party organizations. The power of the printed word greatly intensifies its "retranslation" in collective and interpersonal forms of communication, when important materials in newspapers and journals are taken up and expanded through other means of ideological influence and considered at meetings and rallies, used in political information and agitator talks, etc. It is precisely then that press materials acquire new mental and emotional meanings and the expressed ideas and results of the study of social facts are translated into the language of specific action. The exchange of views and comparisons between information and practical experience are closely tied to shaping public opinion. That is why, we believe, it is wrong to proceed exclusively from the fact that today everyone can "read everything for himself."

Secondly, the extent to which the press influences public opinion depends on the organizational work of party and state bodies in terms of resolving management, socioeconomic and cultural problems which the press legitimately poses. In other words, it depends on the extent to which the intervention of the periodical press in the democratic processes of improving all aspects of social life will be effective. An intervention from party positions is consistent with Lenin's formula that "the press must be a tool in socialist construction..." (op. cit., vol 36, p 192). Under the conditions of mature socialism the requirement, reemphasized in a number of party decisions and recently issued documents, of reacting in a principled and efficient manner to press articles, persistently disseminating the experience promoted by the press and taking constructive steps in answer to criticisms, so that each serious article may trigger a lively response and create the impetus to

improve matters and reach new heights, becomes even more important. This approach convinces the people of the instructive importance of broad social publicity and contributes to the growth of the social activeness of the masses by practically proving that words can also mean actions.

Third. Today the press is only part of the single mass information and propaganda system. Consequently, the interaction between the press and public opinion develops as a result of the comprehensive influence exerted by all the means within this system. It is very important for them to carry out the assignments set by the party for ideological work purposefully, based on the principle of complementing each other, in accordance with their specific possibilities and the demand of the public, and adequately to reflect public opinion itself. Hence, "orchestration"--concern for intensifying the practical integration and unification of ideological and political actions and continuing cooperation--assumes increasing importance, particularly in the local areas, in the daily party guidance of the press, television and radio.

We must also bear in mind that the mechanism for shaping public opinion is related to the individual reaction to ideological influence. This perception is not passive in the least. To a great extent it is a manifestation of ideological convictions, social needs, individual motivations and relatively "narrow" interests. One of the laws of the psychology of printed propaganda is that any information which is drastically different from the individual views of the reader may, by contrast, be assessed by him in a negative fashion, while any stance closer to his views, conversely, is rated more positively. So far, this problem has been left unstudied within the context of the effectiveness of press work. The obvious explanation is the concept of the press as a specifically mass tool, directed not to the individual but to the social consciousness of an anonymous public. From the Marxist viewpoint, however, we cannot "pit 'society' as an abstraction against the individual. The individual is a social being. Therefore, any of his manifestations, even if such manifestation is not directly collective, added to other manifestations in life, is a manifestation and assertion of social life" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 42, p 119).

Naturally, under socialist conditions the role of the individual himself in terms of information and propaganda influence is by no means limited to his acceptance or opposition. In our country the individual is not only endowed with full rights but is most frequently civically active and able to initiate social action without any "urging;" he is not an object of manipulation by the press (as in bourgeois society) but is a direct participant in the ideological process. He is frequently a worker or rural correspondent and an active contributor to the press. Therefore, more than ever before, today he is the bearer of public opinion. Therefore, the orientation toward efficient interaction with the mass public presumes the particular requirement for our press to "sense," study and express public opinion as perceived by the individual.

In this sense the role of the readers' feedback becomes even more important. It is exercised through a variety of channels, above all through letters to the editors which, their entire social significance notwithstanding, are

essentially motivated by precisely individual reactions to public phenomena. As was pointed out at the June Central Committee Plenum, letters by readers and television and radio audiences are a "sensitive barometer of public opinion and a rich source of mass thoughts, experience and initiative." The study of the quantitative and structural changes in mail to the editors sheds light on a broad spectrum of ideological-political questions addressed to the press, desire for information and expectations, not "generally and as a whole," but in terms of specific individuals and readership strata and categories. It enables us to proceed not from some developed ideas about "stereotyped perceptions" but from the living dynamics of the steady enrichment of the spiritual needs of the working people in the course of the advancement of developed socialist society.

As we know, Lenin considered awareness of the views, interests and demands of the people a mandatory condition for press influence on the masses. He paid particular attention to the social structure of the reading public and its perception of the written word and called for taking into consideration "any information on the impression which one article or pamphlet or another made on the various readership strata" (op. cit., vol 46, p 221), for such reports offer party leaders and press workers the opportunity to determine whether "this article is perceived as a sermon, is there a response to it, in what way does it change life and what corrections and additions must be made" (op. cit., vol 47, p 74).

Our press is implementing these Leninist stipulations not only thanks to answers and suggestions found in the letters but through readers' conferences, seeking the advice of the mass public through correspondence, talks given by journalists in party organizations and labor collectives, and so on. Despite the great usefulness of traditional methods and the need to improve them, today this is no longer sufficient in terms of ensuring the more profound and efficient development of relations between press and public opinion. The main reason is that, as a rule, letters, conferences and talks are a reflection of the needs and views of a specific segment of the reading public rather than the entire mass, and the relatively limited possibilities of such methods in the area of long-term and purposeful analysis, which is so greatly necessary in journalism.

The June CPSU Central Committee Plenum noted that a conversion is necessary from assessing the condition of ideological processes to their forecasting and from isolated to systematic studies of public opinion. Such studies must proceed from the realities of social life. They must "sense" existing and developing trends, both constructive and negative, bring to light the reasons for one phenomenon or another, find means to surmount them, be more efficient and flexible and provide suitable practical recommendations. This fully applies to the interaction between the press and public opinion, an area in which sociological studies remain uncoordinated and sporadic. It is only the systematic study of the entire set of relations between mass information media and the readers, viewers and listeners, based on a specific program and a unified methodology, which can open the way to a truly comprehensive study of public demands, addresses to the press and the level of press effectiveness. In our view, large studies of this kind should



be made approximately once every 5 years and include a study of the implementation of specific tasks based on the results of the preceding survey and the drafting of long-term forecasts consistent with the development of the press in accordance with the objective requirements of the times. The basic principles, however, and the standard method for systematic sociological studies in the various mass information media remain undeveloped. In this area the science of journalism has fallen far behind practical work.

The further increase in the role played by sociology in improving the work of the press also involves the creation of research groups under the party committees for the current study of public opinion, including the influence of the press, television and radio on mass audiences. We could also anticipate that in the relatively near future the editorial boards of mass information media or publishing houses would set up on a cooperating basis special sociological services for instant analyses of individual problems and for the steady investigation of the social response to the printed and spoken word and its influence on social practice. It is precisely the unity of convictions and actions, as reflected in the dynamics of social life, which must become the real criterion in this case. "...What are the signs we must look for to determine the actual 'thoughts and feelings' of real individuals?" Lenin wrote. "Understandably, there could be only one: the actions of such individuals and, since it is a question only of social 'thoughts and feelings,' let us also add the social actions of the individual, i.e., the social facts" (op. cit., vol 1, pp 423-424).

Naturally, it is particularly important not to waste such studies but to ensure that the summation of results are followed by their translation into the language of creative practices and a real consideration of public opinion in the daily activities of newspapers and journals. This precisely is the main link in the party's efforts to enhance the effectiveness of the press.

The June CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized that the mass information and propaganda media are an effective tool in communist upbringing and in organizing the working people and giving ideological support to the party's domestic and foreign policy, a truly nationwide rostrum and a most important tool in molding public opinion. In our days the work of the press, television and radio largely determines the effectiveness of party propaganda and the situation in the other sectors of the ideological front. Practical experience proves that such work is effective only when the attention is focused on the main directions followed in the constructive efforts of the party and the people and when the working people themselves become involved in the discussion of topical problems. A deeper interconnection between the press and public opinion, based on the all-round consideration of the developing spiritual requirements and social interests of the masses, will help achieve the nationwide orientation toward action to which the party calls and which is of such importance in the further progress of the socialist society.

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## INNOVATIONS IN MANAGEMENT AND ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTATION

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[Article by A. Prigozhin, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] One of the prerequisites for the dynamic development of Soviet society is the continuing and comprehensive advancement of economic management and the totality of production relations.

"A manifestation of greater autonomy, daring searches and, if necessary, taking justifiable risks for the sake of enhancing the efficiency of the economy and the increased well-being of the people, manifested on all levels, is what we expect of our economic cadres," Comrade K. U. Chernenko said at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. In developing, testing and adopting progressive methods and structures in management we can surmount some adverse trends which appeared in our national economy in recent years, above all the lag in the development of management behind the growth of production forces and a certain lowering of the manageability of socioeconomic processes.

Under such circumstances the introduction of large-scale new developments in management must be substantiated with particular thoroughness. That is precisely why such a great interest has developed today in the experimental method of testing management innovations. Experimentation is becoming an increasingly widespread and promising tool in improving management. However, it is both complex and expensive. Therefore, the study of the targets and principles of economic experimentation and its inherent difficulties and limitations is a very topical, current question.

### The Course of Intensification

Any purposeful advancement of management, technology and implementation of any useful idea goes through new developments. The latter have their own logic and patterns. In particular, any complex and broad innovation presumes preliminary testing, i.e., experimentation. A systematic system of management innovations and economic experimentation is becoming a permanent and increasingly effective social development factor.

It is particularly important to note in this case that progressive innovations are scheduled to play a major part in completing the conversion of our national economy from primarily extensive to primarily intensive development.

They must become a kind of intensification lever. This means that innovations and experimentation must be oriented toward accelerating economic development and achieving more significant end results with lower outlays and encouraging the initiative and interest of labor collectives and individual workers in increasing labor productivity and saving on labor and material resources.

In recent years the widespread interested attention of party organizations, soviet and economic bodies and scientific and public institutions has been drawn to the solution of such problems. This is confirmed by the first all-union practical science conference on "Problems of Management Innovations and Economic Experimentation," which took place in Tallin in 1978, on the republic level, and subsequently in September 1981. It was organized by the VSNTO [All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies], the USSR GKNT [State Committee for Science and Technology], the USSR and Estonian SSR Gosplans, the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Systems Research of the GKNT and the USSR Academy of Sciences, the section of sociology of organizations of the Soviet Sociological Association and the Estonian Republic Council of Scientific and Technical Organizations. Academician D. M. Gvishiani was in charge of preparations for and holding the all-union conference. The holding of the two conferences is a very significant event. The considerable experience acquired in preparing for and carrying out economic experiments and applying management innovations, which had accumulated for the past 10 to 15 years in labor collectives and various economic sectors and republics and the experience of a number of socialist countries, such as Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR and others, necessitated a serious scientific interpretation.

The brigade and Shchekino methods, the systems used by the VAZ and the turbines plant in Kaluga and the experience gained in the stimulation of scientific and technical progress in the electrical engineering and other industrial sectors have become extensively developed and widespread in our country. Experiments have been conducted on the normative wage-planning method, the sliding work schedule, the new methods of work at home and many other innovations. New experiments are under way.

Let us note the experiment jointly initiated by Minpribor [Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems] and Gosstandart, on improving the system of state certification of production quality. As part of it, the Tochelektropribor Association in Kiev was granted the right to certify its own output in three quality categories and was granted benefits in exchange for its obligation to ensure the guaranteed servicing of its output. Minpribor is engaged in another experiment as well on using the principles of related cost accounting and association self-financing. Accordingly, fixed payments are made to the budgets and plans are amended exclusively at the expense of the enterprise, in the course of which bonuses to management workers are based on end results (marketing, profits and labor productivity).

The experiment in trucking involves the so-called customer plan: the ton/kilometer indicator is replaced by two others: implementation of trucking assignments and obligations in accordance with the plan and profits. Several

years ago, on the initiative of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, an experiment was undertaken in the Baltic republics and Belorussia in specializing in the production of light industry goods. A variety of labor collectives are testing new methods of participation of the working people in production management, etc.

Of late several Leningrad enterprises have been experimentally developing new forms of wages and labor organization of engineers. Extensive changes in planning methods are being tested at enterprises of two union and three republic ministries. The RSFSR Ministry of Consumer Services is also initiating experimentation.

Characteristically, most of the tested innovations do not require additional capital investments or other outlays. Based on the principles of intensification, they bring to light internal previously unused possibilities and reserves for improving efficiency. This makes them particularly relevant under contemporary conditions.

The 20-year comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress, which became a most important preplanning document, has been developed on two occasions experimentally with the most active participation of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the GKNT and the leading scientific research organizations in the country. Work on a comprehensive program is in its current third stage. This program, which in itself is a major innovation in management, is called upon to formulate in a concentrated basis the important technical, socioeconomic, managerial and other innovations, the extensive dissemination of which enable us to raise the level of all economic sectors.

The intensifying effect of such progressive innovations on the national economy is manifested not only in direct but also more distant objectives and positive consequences. This makes the multipurpose innovations and related experiments, the purpose of which is to resolve several important problems simultaneously or consecutively, particularly important. Thus, contracting brigades in construction, industry and transportation and unstructured mechanized links in agriculture not only enable us to increase labor productivity and to improve production quality but also contribute to stabilizing and unifying the collective and to strengthening its discipline.

Therefore, many innovations and experiments are under way. What are their returns? They have not as yet brought about a radical change in the development of the country's national economy. Although this is due to several reasons, two of them are the most important: the limited nature of planned changes and the insufficiently developed theoretical and methodical foundations for implementing management innovations and conducting economic experiments.

Today the intensification process must cover not only direct production work but production management as well. This is the most important task of management innovations and related experiments. Whereas extensive management methods are characterized by an emphasis on establishing new bodies, regulating economic activities and their "step-by-step control, intensive management

methods are distinguished by releasing and stimulating labor initiative, interest and autonomy. Management intensification means intensifying influences by directly combining management objectives with the interests of collectives and individual workers, a flexible and fast reaction to changes in external and internal conditions and simplification and reduction of administrative structures leading to higher procedural efficiency and implementation of decisions.

A great deal has also been accomplished in recent years to energize the innovation processes, their acceleration and the fuller realization of their possibilities. However, a number of major difficulties and problems exist in this area. Many experiments lack the necessary methodical base. Some economic initiatives remain in the experimental stage for long periods of time instead of becoming widespread. Although many interesting theoretical developments have appeared in recent years, a number of methodical and methodological problems related to economic experimentation and managerial innovations.

#### Essence of Innovations and Experiments

So far the elaboration of the theory of managerial innovations and economic experiments is in its initial stage, although such practices have existed for a long time. The lagging of theoretical research in this area turns into the insufficient substantiation of some measures and the unconvincing nature of their results.

It is important to emphasize that the economic experiment is a stage in the introduction of innovations in management practices although it is by no means always necessary. An experiment is fully justified if no scientifically substantiated confidence exists that the suggested innovation will yield tangible results. Not all innovations require experimentation in the way that not all experiments lead to innovations.

The reason for which it is important to point this out is that a sort of experimentation fashion has appeared. Sometimes the prestigiousness of this concept is "embellished" with not very valuable improvements and discoveries in economic practice which, however, are not experiments, for many useful initiatives and labor enterprises or historically developed and practically reliable means, ways and methods of work worthy of dissemination are frequently encountered in production management practice. They can be used by many different labor collectives without any special experimentation. This includes many measures related to the scientific organization of labor, automated control systems, comprehensive quality control management, etc. This also includes the method of organizing the harvest developed in Ipatovskiy Rayon, Stavropol Kray, which earned widespread recognition in our country as an efficient means of allocating manpower and equipment and saving time at the peak of the agricultural season.

Economic experimentation becomes necessary when no positive results of a managerial innovation can be anticipated. In other words, the purpose of the experiment is to eliminate surprises, for even the most thorough theoretical and engineering development cannot predict all significant consequences and



difficulties in the application of an innovation. The purpose of the experiment is by far not merely to assess the realizing of an innovation. One of its important functions is to provide a base for improving or even reworking the project. It could be claimed that the criterion for the accuracy and methodical knowledgeability of the experiment are found in the opportunities which it provides for improving an initial project.

It makes sense to speak of a managerial innovation only in comparison to a social requirement, the satisfaction of which is its objective. It is precisely the nature and level of social requirements which determine the direction and success of the work in applying an innovation. That is why the substantiation of innovations must necessarily include their link with specific trends and directions in socioeconomic development rather than limiting it to strictly applied tasks. This formulation of the matter enables us to avoid the disorderly accumulation of petty nonessential "innovations," which are neither interrelated nor linked to social objectives and values.

We must also always be aware of the comprehensive nature of innovations and experiments. No innovation can be purely economic, organizational or economic-legal. Each innovation must inevitably include a variety of components. Therefore, the preparation for and conduct of experiments and innovations require the use of specialists in a large number of fields. Such multidisciplinary or, more accurately, interdisciplinary activity presumes the knowledgeable use of the methodology of the systems approach, the extensive use of systems analysis methods and formal and informal research methods, including systems modeling. So far this requirement is insufficiently considered in formulating innovation measures.

The requirement of looking at innovations as changes in the social and physical environment in which they take place is an important methodological principle. All innovations inevitably affect a broad range of socioeconomic and organizational-technical relations, generating "waves" of secondary derivative consequences. The latter must be forecast with a view to their planning or prevention at the development and planning of innovations, although not all such consequences can be predicted with certainty. That is why, at the stage of innovation designing we must take into consideration the specific conditions of specific targets of innovations, including the economic, organizational and sociopsychological characteristics of respective collectives, their traditions, levels of education, etc. For example, an innovation which has been fully justified and immediately adopted in one environment may require special tests of specific forms and variants under other regional, demographic or other circumstances.

In terms of the degree of their novelty and depth of changes they make, innovations may be subdivided into basic, i.e., radical and profound, and modifying, the purpose of which is to improve and supplement already existing ones. The former, as we can easily see, include new principles and methods of management, new methods of production organization, new types of output, essentially new technologies and so on. As a rule, a basic innovation is "extended" in a series of modifying innovations. For example, initially the Shchekino method was unquestionably a basic innovation and its application at

a large association such as the Bashneftekhimzavody required a partial modification of the method although its base remained the same. This applies to the brigade method as well.

Distinguishing between these types of innovations is of major importance not only in qualifying specific measures but analyzing the nature of their development. Let us consider, for example, the question of their correlation. Naturally, there must be a larger number of innovations which modify and improve and which appear more frequently than basic innovations, adapting the latter to changing conditions and tasks. However, individual and limited innovations do not have infinite adaptation possibilities. Furthermore, at a given stage of social and economic development they are no longer able efficiently to support obsolete principles and methods and to compensate for their "expiring." At that point delays in the development and realization of new radical innovations are fraught with stagnation and managerial dysfunction. Therefore, basic innovations have a special social value. It is precisely they, above all, which require experimentation.

#### Ideas Awaiting Experimentation Testing

So far, for example, we have been unable to achieve an optimal combination of the sectorial with the territorial planning and management principles. Frequently the power of ministries in local areas proves to be stronger than that of the local soviet authorities. Suffice it to see the way ministries have literally "torn asunder" entire cities, such as Bratsk, Togliatti and Miass, by building up "their own" part of the city at a respectable distance from "someone else's." Even in the small oil extraction settlements in the Tyumen North, each department tries to build its own boiler rooms, hotels, public baths and cafeterias.... In such cases the local soviets can only exhort.

Proposals to create special authorities for the administration of territorial-industrial complexes are being voiced with increasing frequency in discussing the problem of the search for ways leading to the best possible combination of sectorial with territorial management. What kind of authorities should these be? We believe that it is important in this case mandatorily to ensure the enhanced role of the soviets. Furthermore, should we set up such new bodies when the possibility of using existing ones is there? In a number of cases the management of territorial-production complexes could be assumed by corresponding departments of oblast executive committees, even if this may require certain changes in the administrative boundaries of an oblast or kray. Such a step would enable us to link more closely social with economic planning in the various areas and to eliminate disproportions which have appeared in their development. Unfortunately, numerous examples of such disproportions could be cited. The worst among them is the lagging and underdevelopment of the social infrastructure.

Let us point out that some steps are already being taken to resolve such problems. We know, for example, that a centralized shifting of all means for nonindustrial construction (housing and social projects) from ministries directly to the councils of ministers of union republics and their further

assignment to the executive committees of local soviets will be tested in the immediate future. Such measures are of very great importance as the role and number of TPK [territorial-industrial complexes] are increasing.

In this connection we should closely study the most essential lessons which stem from the experience of the dissemination of a large-scale innovation such as the comprehensive creation of rayon, oblast and republic (ASSR) agro-industrial associations. Is territorial integration useful and necessary only in this economic sector? The experiment conducted in the Georgian city of Poti has as its purpose to eliminate interdepartmental barriers separating neighboring plants located in the same urban territory. Unquestionably, their combined efforts and partial funds used in resolving common problems within a specific settlement would make it possible to build projects and other facilities for collective use more quickly and economically.

The high cost of extensive intracity cadre turnover is well-known. It is no secret that enterprises offer different benefits in terms of sociocultural facilities, wages and labor conditions. Under such circumstances not all managers can resist the temptation of "hiring away" workers and specialists from their "neighbors." The creation of urban intersectorial production associations would balance socioeconomic development and cadre policy and would allow the more efficient solution of transportation and energy problems. Such associations could contribute to the solution of the currently very grave problem of developing intersectorial production systems. Briefly stated, the RAPO [rayon agroindustrial association] is not a separate measure but a principle. It is essentially a supplement to the vertical-sectorial structure no less effective than the horizontal-territorial one. The principle, which was successfully tested through the rayon agroindustrial associations and the Poti experiment should, in our view, be experimentally tested in the development of territorial-industrial complexes. Nor should we exclude in this case the appearance of new solutions to the problem resulting from the specific conditions prevailing in one area of our country or another.

It is also become necessary to search for new principles for structuring economic relations along the intradepartmental vertical. It is a question of the familiar problem of combining centralization with autonomy or, more accurately, of ensuring the systematic development of the mechanism of economic self-regulation along with the improvement of methods based on directives. This offers a broad field for experimentation and extensive possibilities of upgrading efficiency.

The present scales and complexity of national economic processes have already made impossible the preservation of methods of centralized management which were effective 20 years ago. This is particularly clear in the case of sectors working directly for the mass consumer. In recent years their activities have been justifiably criticized and triggered the legitimate discontent of the population, as was pointed out at the 26th Party Congress and the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Light industry is a case in point. Is it truly necessary today to issue out of a single center to the enterprises in this sector such a large number of



parameters on the items they produce? We believe that with the current scale, structure and mobility of consumer demand to do this accurately is simply impossible. Is this not the reason for which, in addition to everything else, above-norm stockpiles of some commodities, worth many billions of rubles, develop while others are in very short supply in retail trade?

The logical conclusion is that it would be expedient to set up an economic experiment aimed at significantly increasing the flexibility of said organizations. For example, many enterprises and associations in the garment and shoe industries could be allowed to determine the variety of their output by themselves. However, the wages of their personnel should be directly related to the marketing of their goods by the stores. In other words, the earnings of the worker, the engineer or the manager would be raised or lowered according to the volume of retail trade for such items, naturally on the basis of centrally controlled prices. Clearly, the best organizational method for such an experiment would be the use of production-trade associations set up on an economic base essentially different from the current one. The labor collectives of such organizations would be materially interested not only in meeting the needs of the population but in seeking reserves for increasing volumes of output and making prompt variety changes. Naturally, under such circumstances the level of participation of the public organizations and the entire personnel in resolving organizational and economic problems could be enhanced (in drawing up tables of organization, selecting managers, norming the work and updating equipment and output). Briefly, this could be a comprehensive socioeconomic experiment offering extensive possibilities.

There are no simple decisions. In this case as well we must realize the differences in the objective status of the various collectives and the need for the planned employment of released workers; it may become necessary to intensify wage differentiations among enterprises. All of this must be thoroughly studied and measured in the course of the experiment, with a view to developing anticipatory or compensating measures. It is equally unquestionable, however, that the conversion to intensive economic management methods may not be accomplished through "cosmetic" operations in management.

Increasing the autonomy of associations and enterprises is not a self-seeking aim. Unquestionably, however, the development and intensification of cost-accounting in enterprises and associations offers a tremendous opportunity for improving production efficiency. We must enhance the organizational level of cost-accounting and convert as many sectors as possible to self-financing. The opinion has been frequently expressed that the development of cost-accounting in a main economic unit, such as enterprises and production associations, is greatly restrained today by the situation of the middle management level--the all-union industrial associations--in which a gap has been noticed between the legal and economic supports on which their activities are based. Frequently the functions of the VPO [all-union industrial associations] are duplicated at higher management levels.

It is not a question in the least of lowering the role of centralized management methods, including those based on directives, which are the most



important tool in socialist economic management. Furthermore, one of the trends in management innovations and economic experimentation should be the search for new and more advanced means of application of such methods and a more advanced system of indicators and criteria for assessing the activities of the various production units. A variety of viewpoints exist on this problem as well as disparities and contradictions in views and positions. Nevertheless, it is entirely clear that the still large number of directive-based indicators makes cumbersome the system for planning and evaluating the production activities of collectives. New ideas and initiatives are needed in this area.

### Surmounting Thinking Stereotypes

Let us particularly mention the need to create a suitable social atmosphere around managerial innovations and economic experimentation. Unfortunately, we have developed the practice of praising the positive qualities of an innovation while concealing its negative sides which are probably inevitable in any kind of undertaking. A clear understanding of the difficulties and costs involved in any useful solution or measure will direct us toward their elimination and would prevent extremes and subsequent disappointments. Reality always teaches us sobriety, repeatedly proving the harmfulness of the campaign approach to any complex and responsible matter.

It is no secret that despite all unquestionable merits of production associations, in the course of their widespread creation voices to the effect that this overall progressive measure does not exclude the preservation of the autonomy of medium and small enterprises whenever justified were rare and muffled. Here again the pursuit of "gross output" led to losses. For example, in a number of cases the establishment of a number of timber procurement associations in 1976 resulted in almost doubling the size of the administration apparatus of the head enterprises. The staff of the branches remained almost untouched while the volume of correspondence tripled, repairs became more costly and lengthy and procurements worsened. In other cases, such consolidations led to a reduction in capital returns and a lowering of labor productivity. Features of a campaign approach are clearly apparent in the efforts to apply automated control systems and the brigade contracting order. All of this is directly counterindicated to innovations. The party, trade union and Komsomol bodies and the mass press must assume a principled and consistent position in this matter.

The creation of a healthy and exigent social atmosphere to surround progressive innovations and experiments is necessary also in order to prevent and eliminate concealed opposition to the new, in which everyone claims to be "in favor" while the actually important reorganization is postponed indefinitely through a series of "clarifying" instructions and stipulations and methods and is reduced to petty, secondary and superficial changes. The experience gained in the implementation of the 1965 economic reform and the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism, which was passed in July 1979, and a number of other important measures indicates that this type of danger has not been eliminated in the least.

Let us also bluntly point out that the creation of agroindustrial associations in accordance with the resolutions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum did not proceed everywhere as successfully as in Vilyandi, Pyarnu or Abasha. The results may even have developed in the opposite direction, as was the case with the Sheksninskiy RAPO in Vologoda Oblast. It was precisely the aspiration of numerous departments and industrial administrations to preserve their positions and not to surrender their rights and funds which prevented a real coordination of forces to take place in that area. We may expect that here and there service industry and processing sectors will avoid organizing a system of direct dependence of their material status on harvests, milking and weight increases. The habit of conservatism and departmental egotism have led to the development of many forms of imitation of innovations and their fictitious use with references to "creative application." This is quite clear in the way the Shchekino method and the brigade contracting order have been disseminated.

The principal means of struggle against such regressive trends are familiar to all of us: above all, extensive publicity and social control. A great deal here depends also on the activeness and militancy of the press. However, we must also organize representative methods for professional discussions of the experiment and the use of innovations. To this effect we may adopt the rule of holding regular practical science conferences with the extensive participation of party, economic and scientific workers. These should be worker discussions, the task of which would be to assess the course of implementation of the most important economic measures with a critical yet constructive analysis of real difficulties and means of surmounting them. Obviously, their recommendations should enjoy a special status compared to documents of ordinary conferences which have no mandatory power whatsoever.

The creation of a favorable social atmosphere surrounding management innovations and economic experiments should help us to surmount some thinking stereotypes in this area. We already pointed out that frequently the solution of a topical and sensitive problem is sought only the creation of a new authority or subunit. For example, everyone agrees that this five-year plan we must ensure the growth of output while substantially reducing material outlays. However, here and there the center of gravity in resolving this problems is shifted to creating ever new commissions, administrations or departments.

Thus, with a view to economizing on resources, within a short time the Azerbaijan Gosstab created an interdepartmental commission, an administration in charge of controlling the use of resources and a department on the conservation of raw and other materials. This system has established total control over all areas of resource turnover. Need we prove that such control is not only impossible to exercise but also threatens to bureaucratize active projects. At this point we unwittingly recall Gogol's Colonel Koshkarev in "Dead Souls" who, after being informed of construction irregularities in his estate immediately decided to "set up a new commission which will be known as a commission in charge of observing the construction commission...." Far more important than such a "organizational creativity" is to make enterprises interested in the thrifty utilization of resources and to develop corresponding incentives and other measures to encourage the thrifty, so that everyone would profit from such economies.

Meanwhile, said stereotypes remain quite durable. As in the past, there is no shortage of suggestions to set up a variety of additional authorities. Actually, this is a preservation of the old trend of reacting to arising problems by creating new organizations and after the number of such organizations has become so great that their management becomes a problem in itself, to organize a consolidating "superorganization."

In this case profound socioeconomic problems are replaced by administrative-organizational ones. The habit of "looking for the key not where it was lost but where the area is lit up" and the inertia of superstructural organizations as a means of resolving aggravated problems are nothing but that same old extensive approach to management. This increase in extensive management is totally inconsistent with the current tasks of upgrading economic efficiency. This method has its limits which we have already approached. Today the center of gravity, it seems to us, must be shifted to socioeconomic methods which can make the people interested, may awaken their initiative and make its implementation possible.

#### On the Usefulness of Methods

One of the most important advantages of economic experimentation as a stage in managerial innovation is its provability. Scientific substantiations and a methodical and knowledgeably carried out experiment provide a firm base for success of an innovation.

Unfortunately, today we note an obvious underestimation of and even scorn for this rather complex procedural aspect of the matter. Frequently some hastily implemented measures are presented as experiments, although their objective cannot be specifically assessed or even a more or less clear result determined. Such an attitude toward the strictness of experimentation and its reliability is fraught with the danger of disorienting collectives and party and economic organs.

An experiment must be thoroughly substantiated. In the opposite case the result will be the same as in railroad transportation. Here, in converting to a three-step management system, an attempt was made to deprive railroad enterprises of their financial and economic autonomy (depots, power supply sections, tracks, etc.) and transfer such functions to railroad sections. However, lack of substantiation of such measures soon forced a return to the previous work system. Similar cases in which the best alternative is sought blindly, through "trial and error," are frequent. Naturally, an experiment must not always confirm a presumed result. A negative result is also valuable but only if it has been obtained on a methodically knowledgeable basis.

A necessary condition for the proveability of an experiment is the existence of programs and methods for its conduct. Above all the program must clearly indicate precisely the type of managerial innovation which is related to the organization of a specific experiment: it must substantiate the expediency and possibility of the innovation, formulate hypotheses on its positive or negative consequences, etc. It should define the experimental and control objects and indicate the extent to which they are representative, their specifics and their comparability.

The importance of a proper choice of control projects is still being obviously underestimated. However, they are the most important prerequisite for the accuracy of the experiment. Actually, the USSR Gosnab is currently converting five experimenting ministries to easier conditions for the procurement of raw materials and complementing items. This is necessary, for procurement breakdowns could hinder the appearance of new incentives. The question, however, is the following: how to determine in such a case whether a subsequent success is the result of such advantages or else the suitability of the experimental idea? That is precisely why control objects are needed. They must be enterprises typical of the sector, using all the advantages of better "experimental" supplies but using the old planning system. A comparison of work results between experimental and control objects would help us to determine the "net" result of such managerial experimentation.

An experiment cannot be impersonal. It can yield results only if the rights and obligations of all interested parties have been clearly formulated. That is why it is so important to list all the participants in the experiment and to assign them specific responsibilities. According to many specialists, the interested parties may be the following: the organizers of the experiment (the Gosplan, ministries, soviets), the experimental and control subjects (specific enterprises, establishments) and the consultants (scientific organizations which substantiate the idea and the methodical aspects). Naturally, this is only one of the possible variants but it is obvious that no success can be achieved without a clear definition of the functions of the participants in the experimentation process.

The method used in conducting the economic experiment is an important part of the program. It stipulates its scenario (deadlines, procedure for the basic steps, completion procedures, etc.), the establishment of an experimental situation (changes based on stipulated parameters of the organization-legal, economic, social and technical conditions governing the activities of the object), and periodically assessments of the situation of the processes under study.

Let us point out that many unresolved problems remain in the development of methodical support of economic experiments. Let us take as an example the question of the experimental situation. Obviously, it presumes the establishment of a kind of "experimental zone." This means that whenever this becomes necessary, changes must be made in the related organizations, management mechanisms, etc. However, what area should such a "zone" cover and what is the necessary and adequate extent of the inevitable changes in the "surrounding area" of the experiment?

In this respect the example of the Belorussian Ministry of Industrial Construction is indicative. As we know, its purpose was to find ways to reduce construction time, accelerate the commissioning of finished projects and lower the volume of unfinished construction. In order to achieve this, the marketable (i.e., the finished) construction output became the main indicator in assessing the work of the construction organizations. Profits and the size of economic incentive funds were made dependent on the delivery of marketable output. However, was a proper experimental situation provided in



this case? Not quite, for no corresponding changes were made in the operation of the clients of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Industrial Construction: the principles they used in planning capital investments remained the same, based on the overall volume of construction and installation work. Such one-sidedness of the experiment substantially lowered its potential, as confirmed by an important feature such as the completion rhythm: 80 percent of the ministry's marketable output was frequently scheduled for the second half of the year. The designers and, to a certain extent, the lenders were uninvolved in the experiment. Consequently, the participants in the experiment were forced to swim against the overall current, wasting their main forces not on increasing the pace and achieving ever new results but on fighting the current in order to keep their heads above water. However, clearly one should not fall into the other extreme by immediately amending the entire economic mechanism in the sector, banking operations, etc., in undertaking a limited experiment.

The problem of determining the optimal "experimental area" remains unresolved. The gradual expansion of this "area" and the systematic inclusion of new organizations in the experiment, providing that previous changes have been justified, may provide an acceptable solution.

Clearly, the time has come to draft a state-wide regulation on economic experimentation. Such regulation should not rigidly regulate all aspects of activities in a given area. It is important in this case to avoid the danger of issuing excessive "instruction" governing experimentation procedures and rules. However, such a document is necessary. It is necessary above all in order to provide a scientific-methodical standard and provability of experimental results. Therefore, its basic principles should be formulated quite clearly. This would not exclude the possibility of perfecting them as experience is acquired. It would be expedient in drafting said regulation to recruit broad scientific circles (economists, sociologists, legal experts, psychologists, etc.) and practical managers on different levels and in different areas. In this case party, state and trade union bodies could be of great assistance.

In our view, the method of expert evaluations should play an important part among the methodical means used in determining the expediency, subject, object and result of an economic experiment. We believe that this method would be the best in ensuring the comprehensiveness, objectivity and competence of such important decisions. This method has become sufficiently developed and is being applied both at home and abroad as a means of improving the reliability of decisions relative to scientific and managerial problems. It is no less important to increase the role of machine experimentation and methods of simulation modeling in order to have a preliminary assessment of anticipated real changes based on the program for economic experimentation.

Management innovations based on economic experimentation are playing an increasingly important role in our production practice. The problems councils of the GKNT and the USSR Academy of Sciences, the VSNTD Committee on Management Problems and the corresponding USSR Gosplan Interdepartmental Commission

could play a major role in this respect. It would be expedient to draft a coordination plan for the immediate future and to sponsor its extensive discussion. Such a plan could include the study of a number of economic experiments already conducted in our country with their strong and weak points. Summing up the experience of some socialist countries could also be very useful. The plan should also include the development of the most topical unresolved problems.

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## WARMTH OF THE COLD TAYMYR

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[Article by V. Kadulin]

[Text] Warmth is extremely scarce here, in this area of permafrost, bitter cold, hurricane winds and endless blizzards which sometimes rage over the peninsula for an entire month.

Warmth is a frequent and extensive topic of conversation in Taymyr. It is discussed with concern, dreamily and practically. The people here speak of warm clothing and warm housing, without which one cannot survive even a single day; they speak of the warmth of underground deposits, the wealth of which increases the power of the homeland, brings life to the most remote corners of the tundra and lights up the fires of modern and comfortable settlements. They speak of the warmth of the human heart which, as a mandatory component of socialist community life, is particularly precious and necessary in this extremely harsh area which is only now being properly settled.

It can be said that warmth in the cold Taymyr is also the prime condition and necessary result of economic activities in the area and an integral although not scientifically strict, indicator of its development and socioeconomic organization.

We know the great importance which the development of the extremely rich natural resources of Siberia, the Far North and Far East has in terms of the country's future. The huge scale and unparalleled difficulty of the nationwide problem being resolved requires not only involving in economic circulation the huge resources but ensuring the comprehensive development of these areas. Whether the shift or traditional methods of exploitation of natural resources are used, they presume the creation of a widespread industrial and social infrastructure in an underpopulated and underdeveloped area: a reliable transportation system, comfortable housing, schools, hospitals, movie theaters and cultural clubs, briefly, all that a person needs for normal work and a full life. "For the end purpose of our entire work is to improve the life of the Soviet people," Comrade K. U. Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, emphasized to the voters. "We have taken a broad approach to this problem. We want for the people to be not only better off materially but to be physically healthy, spiritually developed and socially active."

The person is the yardstick of all objects under socialism. This becomes even more accurate today, when our society has entered the stage of its socioeconomic maturity. The person, his well-being, his physical and moral health and, finally, his happiness--all of this, put together, is not only the immediate and long-range guideline but the only criterion of economic activities possible in our society, regardless of where this is taking place, the Extreme North, for example.

#### The Nonexotic North

For my trip to Taymyr I took with me the book "Obyknoennaya Arktika" [Ordinary Arctic] by Boris Gorbatov, as reading material on the long trip and to acquire both "inspiration" and knowledge of the scale of accomplishments in the area.

"What is exotic about ice and white bears in the Arctic?" the writer asked in explaining the purpose of his book. "Who is unaware of the fact that there are bears in the Arctic? However, many people are unaware of the exotic fact that the Arctic has tractors, milk cows and hog-breeding farms. Personally, I have always been interested in daily life in the Arctic, in its practical and economic problems, the problems of the bolshevik development of the North."

In the half century since that writer began his study of the Arctic, the area has substantially expanded its "ordinariness." Taymyr as well, where many of Boris Gorbatov's characters did with dedication what had to be done, has also become "much more ordinary." Enamored of the huge socialist plans, they laughed at the pseudoscientist who had written once in a respected journal that nature itself had destined the northern part of Russia to be the home of the semiwild game hunter and fisherman, and that a civilized person would live here only if forced. The pathfinders, the pioneers of the Soviet Arctic threatened to engrave these words on the marble of the cities which will be built on the tundra and by the sea as a lesson to the skeptics. Born for the sake of turning "legend into reality," they believed, they were firmly confident that "plants, industries, cities and theaters will appear" in the Extreme North. Trapped by blizzards on the empty tundra, barely alive, they huddled against their bodies bottles containing the petroleum they had found, like a priceless treasure. They had no doubt that tomorrow construction workers would follow their footsteps, traveling in excellent vehicles which would not fear a 10-point storm or wind. As for the wind, they intended to harness its power in Taymyr to run engines.

The dreams turned out to be also prophets. Plants and industries were created in the tundra and mines were opened under it. Marble theaters and culture and sports palaces and modern universities, quite different from the old trading stations, are now at the service of the people. The list of cities in the Taymyr opens with Norilsk, splendid with its electric lights lining its straight boulevards. "In the space age, when the people are closely looking at the stars," the cosmonauts, headed by Yuriy Gagarin, who visited the city, wrote, "Norilsk draws everybody's attention on earth as the polar star, the industrial-socialist miracle beyond the polar circle."



Life moves on driven by contradictions.... The white bear, which has become so familiar from its image on millions of wrappings, presenting such a tempting target, has now been entered in the Red Book of Endangered Species, added to those species of polar fauna protected by man from man. Some 10 years ago the imagination of the lovers of exotics was fired by the musk ox brought to Taymyr from Canada and Alaska. These "survivors" adapted, multiplied and scattered far and wide on the tundra, so that today one can write about them without exclamations. A day is not distant when these new arrivals, currently raised in preserves, will be exploited and the okrug's sovkhoses will organize musk ox farms.

Milk cows have long stopped being exotic items in the Arctic. All that could be considered exotic, if we apply Boris Gorbатов's classification, would be the amounts of milk they produce. They would be the envy of farms located in much more bountiful areas. For example, the personnel of the Torgmortrans office in Dikson justifiably complain that the productivity of the milk herd in their livestock farm has dropped. Last year they averaged no more than 3,191 kilograms of milk per cow, whereas during the first year of the current five-year plan the average was substantially higher: 3,529 kilograms. Meanwhile, at the other end of the peninsula, in Khatangskiy Rayon, last year the Sovetskiy Taymyr Sovkhoz, which supplies milk to the entire rayon center, averaged 3,800 kilograms per cow. Frontranking milkmaids in Polyarnyy Sovkhoz, in Dudinka, average 5,400 kilograms of milk per assigned cow.

The ordinary North today consists of powerful nuclear-powered icebreakers and equally good supermodern Arctic diesel-powered ships which, as stipulated in the decisions of the 26th Party Congress, ensure regular year-round navigation in the Western part of the Northern Seaway. However, last autumn the polar ice east of Taymyr, which had long been considered tamed, put to a severe test the strength and power of Arctic equipment and the old residents.

The ordinary Arctic consists of the seaports in Dikson and Khatanga which belonged to the Ministry of Maritime Fleet and the huge port in Dudinka, which does not belong to the ministry but is merely a shop of the Norilsk Ore-Mining Metallurgical Combine and which handles millions of tons of freight per year. It also consists of the offspring of the combine--the northernmost railroad in the world, which links Norilsk to the port and to the administrative center of the autonomous okrug. It consists of the drilling powers of petroleum explorers and the deep prospecting shafts drilled by geologists. Finally, it consists of all-terrain vehicles which thunder from one end to the other of the peninsula, cutting up the tundra with their steel treads....

"The tundra is fighting back!" was the definition of party member V. S. Plotnikov, a native of Taymyr, who in the course of his 50 years has held the difficult position of kolkhoz chairman, worked as farm manager and is now a hunter in the lower reaches of the Yenisey.

"The North has changed," P. S. Fedirko, first secretary of the Krasnoyarsk Kray Party Committee, told me prior to my flight to Taymyr. "Industry has moved in on a large scale and will continue to do so. Major resources have been discovered, thus raising some problems which require particularly close

attention. First of all, the process itself of the development of production forces in the North requires a better organized approach, more skillful and efficient management and a more thorough coordination of the efforts of all interested departments. Secondly, the North is considerably more vulnerable than any other territory. That is why we must be extremely careful when we engage in economic activities in that area. Finally, the industrial development of the northern territories must be conducted in such a way as to avoid any violation of the interest of the native nationalities. Their further involvement in the process of socioeconomic development must be such as to avoid any painful leaps...."

The territory of the Taymyr Autonomous Okrug, long inhabited by small ethnic groups of the North--Dolgany, Nentsy, Nganasany, Entsy and Yakuts--is a huge peninsula deeply wedged, together with its adjacent archipelagos and island, into the Arctic Ocean. In January 1932, 35 delegates to the first okrug party conference met in Dudinka, then a log cabin village on the bank of the Yenisey, which had been made the center of the okrug created in 1930. They included representatives of the Taymyr native population. Holding their breath, they listened to the Russian worker A. Ye. Permyakov, secretary of the organizational bureau of the East Siberia Kray Party Committee: "The task facing us bolsheviks is to develop and industrialize the polar North, to make a cultural revolution, to organize a canning and fur industry and to make the nomad native tribes of the vast Taymyr tundra members of a single socialist economy."

The North has changed. Taymyr has become very different. Today it demands more skillful, organized and comprehensive management of the development of production forces. It is important here to note one circumstance: the Norilsk combine and the Norilsk industrial rayon, which includes Dudinka, is linked by thousands of threads to the life of the okrug and largely determines its life, shapes the future of Taymyr and determines the ways and sequence of its economic development. However, Norilsk has an extraterritorial status. Administratively it is not subordinated to the okrug. The combine--a word which should be written in capital letters--could assume on its powerful shoulders many of the okrug's concerns which are so difficult to resolve at present. It is precisely the combine, with its intellectual and technical potential and organizational structure, which combines within a single entity the interests of the sector and its subordinate territory, and its exceptionally developed industrial and social infrastructure, could fully ensure a unified scientific and comprehensive approach to the development of this entire huge area. It is precisely the combine and the industrial agglomeration it has put together which could become the core of an efficiently managed territorial-production complex within the limits of Taymyr. However, the example of Norilsk acquired over 50 years of most valuable and instructive experience in economic management and the hopes which such experience triggers, should be the subject of a separate extensive discussion. For the time being, therefore, let us bypass Norilsk, which excites the imagination with its power and stern beauty, the more so since on the huge map of the Taymyr Autonomous Okrug, which hangs on the wall of the building of the party's okrug committee, the Norilsk Industrial Rayon is marked as a white-colored polygon, as though an unknown land awaiting its Columbus.

It is true that beyond the Norilsk Industrial Rayon numerous detachments of surveyers of natural resources have been at work for some time and that a variety of departments are sponsoring the industrial development of Taymyr, although not always smoothly and as successfully as one might wish. In traveling around Taymyr, we see at every step proof of the harm to its economic development caused by unfortunate and repeatedly censored departmentalism and the bureaucratic centralism firmly condemned by the party, which replaces democratic centralism in economic management. Practical experience has shown that it is not difficult to cope with parochialism, which is still alive and, in all likelihood, will try to survive. It is far more difficult to find a strong antitoxin to combat departmentalism and clever bureaucratic games concealed behind "superior" considerations. Yet departmentalism and bureaucratism are least of all inclined to take to heart the concerns and needs of a region or a territory, erecting a thick wall on the path of local initiative, local economic development and local enterprise, which Lenin valued so highly, ignoring local characteristics and conditions with a stubbornness which could be displayed in better ways.

One can frequently hear in the Taymyr on various occasions that "this is not the continent!" This saying, which may express a desire to show off pride, biting irony or sarcasm, contains a great deal of truth, unfortunately not always understood and accepted always and by everyone.

For example, the advance of aviation did not bypass distant Taymyr. I even had the luck to be a passenger on the first flight between Krasnoyarsk and Norilsk aboard a powerful IL-62. When I say that I was "lucky" I do not imply that a celebration was held on the occasion of the flight. I was lucky to reach my destination, for previously the airport in Norilsk had remained closed for quite some time whereas, as we know, when one is on an assignment every hour matters.

Big airplanes are fastidious. Meanwhile, the small undemanding airplanes have either disappeared or are disappearing in the North. Great care is taken to keep the IL-14 as reliable as a bicycle, and the modest LI-2, which have already served out their time, flying. Grateful pioneers of the Arctic have made a permanent exhibit of an LI-2 at the airport in Dikson. According to the inscription of the builders of the monument, airplane No 04219, with its orange-colored polar marking, is exhibited here in honor of the polar fliers--the heroes of the Soviet North.

There are probably just as many heroic fliers in the Extreme North today. Today as well they fly "selectively," i.e., they land outside airports, guided by their experience and intuition. In the polar night they fly helicopters hauling heavy and cumbersome outsized loads.

Also in Dikson I heard people speak with pleasure of the opening of their own aviation enterprise in the rayon. In the past, this was an airport. Now it is a heliport. I visited with the skillful helicopter pilots. They have set up a repair base, so that they no longer have to fly hundreds of versts to Norilsk for technical services by their colleagues, thus saving both time and a substantial quantity of fuel. They are building houses and a kindergarten

and intend to settle here. They do a great deal of flying over open sea although they are not flying hydroplanes and, frankly, the water under them is not good for swimming. The navigators as well have a hard time, for the pole is nearby and the longitudes merge. The difficulties are extensive but they keep flying and mastering new types of operations. They should not be blamed for the severe criticism of Aeroflot heard throughout the tundra.

A great deal could be said about such criticism. The main trouble is that simple and economical airplanes, adapted to the extreme conditions of the area better than any others, are being removed from the North. The big airplanes require large and expensive runways. Laying such runways on permafrost is difficult from any point of view. However, the helicopters as well need landing pads. This also involves money and construction materials. Helicopters also need fueling stations, for their alternative is to sacrifice their useful load capacity by carrying their own fuel.

The reliable AN-2, designed by our famous aviation designer the late O. K. Antonov, can land at and take off from the edge of any settlement. If a pair of skis are fitted to this virtually irreplaceable engine in the tundra, one could fly anywhere, for Taymyr has an endless number of lakes where the plane could land. These small and economical airplanes are irreplaceable in an emergency flight by a physician to a settlement of geologists or in hauling freight. However, the number of AN-2 is steadily declining in the tundra. MI-1 and MI-4 helicopters as well are being withdrawn. Naturally, Aeroflot is promising that it will eventually fly in the tundra. Meanwhile, however, convenient, economical, all-weather and maneuverable airplanes are needed in the tundra today!

Problems of ground transportation needed in the tundra equally concern the okrug party committee, the economic personnel and the local scientists. Frequently mentioned in Taymyr is the prewar movie about polar people entitled "Seven Daring People." They also recall the propeller-driven sleds. Why are they currently unavailable in the tundra? Could it be that scientists and engineers considered this type of transportation unpromising? In that case, however, why did the tundra not receive, the Northerners justifiably ask, hovercrafts? They would avoid the use of all-terrain vehicles during the summer, which are very damaging to the tundra's vegetal cover....

It is thus that technical progress in aviation and other areas has shown its dark side in the Arctic. It has not entirely suited the geography, the economy and the inhabitants of the Taymyr.

#### The Human Factor

The work of the Scientific Research Institute of Medical Problems of the North, which was set up quite recently, in 1976, as part of the system of scientific institutions of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Siberian Department, has absolutely nothing exotic and is sometimes subject to discouraging surprises. The institute's structure is unusual. The institute has its clinic with 300 beds and is superbly equipped. The list of its scientific projects is impressive.



It is only when looked at from faraway Moscow that the "black blizzard" appears exotic, during which one stands an equal chance of losing his way and freezing to death in the endless tundra or on the main street of one's native village; the polar night, mysteriously alluring from afar yet heavily depressing when near; a storm in July, fierce as if in January, which could bring trouble even during the polar day: all of these are included by modern science among the extreme factors to be thoroughly studied and which, in the Extreme North, have such an integral impact on man. The scientists also include in this list sharp magnetic disturbances, the desert and monotonous landscape, the scarce flora and fauna and innumerable other problems!

The establishment and line of scientific activities of the institution are most closely related to Prof K. V. Orekhov, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences corresponding member, its permanent director. It is precisely he who is honored by his scientific colleagues for being the champion in developing an ecological approach to the study of human health in the extreme conditions of the Extreme North. Under K. V. Orekhov's guidance, the institute drafted a long-term comprehensive research program "North-Human Ecology in the Extreme North," which was approved in 1979 by the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Presidium, and which includes 75 scientific institutions.

It is no secret that the development of the eastern and northern areas of the country is taking place with a tremendous scarcity of manpower and intensive migration. Therefore, strengthening the health of the local population should compensate to a certain extent for the lack of manpower. However, the institute's collective has given a significantly broader interpretation to this problem, considering the health of the population the most important indicator of social progress and the maturity of socialism.

The collective of Krasnoyarsk scientists deems it its duty to supply party, planning and economic organs with specific recommendations on how to take practically into consideration the medical-geographic characteristics of the area in the development of its natural resources and pursuance of socioeconomic policy. The acquired scientific data favor a clear demarcation in the study of manpower resources in the Extreme North between the native population and settlers coming from other parts of the country. The adaptation process of the new arrivals to the extreme conditions in the area is very complex. However, it can and must be assisted. Furthermore, the native population of the tundra is facing today the need to adapt to the tempestuous influence of technology and urbanization.

Professor V. G. Nikolayev, deputy institute director in charge of scientific affairs, who described to me the work of this unique research institution, cited a number of facts proving the mandatory nature of an ecological approach in optimizing all aspects of human activities in the area. One of them appeared to me the most suitable for a brief description. Why conceal it? The fact that the members of the small northern nationalities eat raw fish or venison is considered by the settlers, particularly at the beginning, as an exotic example of a still-unsurmounted cultural backwardness. This view, however, cannot withstand scientific criticism.

"Although we are thoughtlessly promoting in the North a European type of nutrition, which is by far not ideal under the local circumstances," the professor complained, "based on good motivations we are shipping to the tundra stewed and concentrated foods and fruits from overseas. Yet studies have indicated that the microelements and vitamins contained in such products are poorly absorbed by the human body under northern conditions. Meanwhile, however, all that a person needs can be perfectly obtained from raw meat and fish.... Our attitude toward the people who live and work in the North remains chaotic! Yet a uniform scientific and comprehensive approach is needed in this area...."

It was with these words, which sounded like an instruction, that I left the institute to fly the next morning to Taymyr and see for myself that the ordinary Arctic involves more than anything else and almost always devilishly difficult work, persistent and higher outlays and additional efforts, for which reason a straight and fast implementation of objectives is a rarity.

... The blizzard in Dikson, which is on the path of cyclones, ended as suddenly as it had started. G. S. Radayev, the first secretary of the okrug party committee, and I were walking back to the hotel from the club at the port, where the 16th Rayon Party Conference had just ended.

"A winter such as this is normal for Dikson," said Radayev, who was walking with me. "Snow everywhere. It can even be warm. The sea is not far away and does not remain frozen for long. During the summer it is uncomfortable. There is no summer! And there are rocks, rocks everywhere. The wind pierces you. The rain freezes and soaks you. You walk asking yourself how do people live here?..." He remained silent for a long while and then, as though answering some of his own thoughts, said: "Nevertheless, I have become accustomed to the North...."

Equally accustomed is V. S. Alekseyev, bearer of the Order of the Labor Red Banner, chief of the Hydrographic Base, which services the Northern Seaway. He came to Dikson in 1952, which means that he had spent more than 30 years in the Arctic! Brief stints in Leningrad and in Cuba do not count. This man from Yaroslavl is short, stocky, with a big head. The badge "Honored Polar Worker" on his chest, which I was told is not easily awarded, is the live history of postwar Dikson. The Hydrographic Base is the only communist labor collective on the island.

"The better life becomes the less willingly come the people to the Arctic," this old Dikson resident observed. As the manager, he can see this particularly clearly. The Hydrographic Base is a budget-supported organization. No piece-rate wages here and wages, bearing in mind local conditions, are quite modest: a worker earns 90 rubles....

O. K. Sedov, candidate of geographic sciences, the manager of the Dikson Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control Administration, came here for the first time in 1959 from Leningrad where, like Alekseyev, he had graduated from the Higher Marine Engineering School imeni Admiral Akarov. He spent 3 years on the island, followed by postgraduate studies, work at the Arctic and

Antarctic Scientific Research Institute in Leningrad, participated in four Antarctica expeditions, returning to Dikson in 1981. The area under his charge covers some 2 million square kilometers! Dozens of polar stations and three Arctic observatories are scattered over this huge area. The administration staff consists of no more than about 1,000 people, approximately one-half of whom work on the Arctic periphery and some are in the vicinity of the North Pole.

Sedov is extremely concerned with the problem of staffing the stations with the necessary personnel absolutely suitable for such work. Naturally, he did not fail to mention the cosmonauts who were sent here before their flights. Sedov does not have to explain the importance of the psychological compatibility of the people who are to spend the winter in the distant islands. He must also deal with the continuing increase of the female population in the polar stations. Many people are putting in requests to spend the winter there and the administration receives as many as 1500 letters a year but suitable applicants are few. Need we discuss at length the importance of a mechanic in a polar camp? The diesel power plant means warmth and light, operating equipment and life! The mechanic must know and be able to do anything. He must be a skillful and very healthy person. What kind of salary could Sedov offer to a strong and charming contemporary of Levshe? One hundred and five rubles! With all the supplements it will amount to 300 rubles. A skilled specialist would be unwilling to work on the island.

In the polar stations, if someone is sick or on leave, a combination of jobs is allowed with suitable salary increases. Yet in Dikson, which is also an island, where the administration is located, or in Khatanga, which is on the continent, and where conditions are equally hard, holding two jobs is forbidden. But why is it, asks Sedov, that an engineer in the administration, even if he is willing and if it is necessary, could not drive a vehicle in his free time? Why? Who would suffer from this? Why do we frequently look scornfully at someone who wishes to combine jobs and take home a little bit more money?

Sedov recalled how the "Seven Daring People," preparing for their trip, were sifting through heaps of fur clothes. Today the country is much richer but to the polar resident of today this prewar movie is considered either as ancient legend or as rose-tinted and unfulfilled dreams. At that time anyone going to the Arctic was issued warm clothing by the Northern Seaway Administration. This was entirely proper, for the polar climate is equally harsh for anyone. At one point, however, someone decided that this is not the case or should not be. And now, synopticians who must do their work throughout the year, day and night, in all weather, are not issued polar clothing. It is not in the regulations. The people come to the North in their usual clothing, immediately catch cold and are sick for extensive periods of time.

It is as rare to find in Taymyr economic stipulations and regulations which would take the specific nature of the area into consideration and provide any kind of room to act as it is to find a red seagull which, it is said, no one has ever caught. Yet such breathing space is particularly necessary here, considering the extreme--the frequent repetition of this word is inevi-

table!--conditions of the Extreme North, where the importance of the human factor, as recently reminded by Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, is particularly great.

As this seasoned polar resident legitimately points out, the fact that the Arctic has been studied for the past 50 years has not made it any warmer.

"Do you know what the ordinary Arctic is?" bitterly joked Sedov. "It is an infinite amount of problems, many of which are manmade, and the surmounting of which takes a heap of time. Here one feels like a Don Quixote tilting at windmills...."

Nevertheless, the North probably does need a drop of chivalry, which may sometimes appear silly but is never self-seeking. For example, how many were the personnel loyal to the North who gathered in the club of the maritime court for the 16th Rayon Party Conference. And how not to recall the professor from Gorbatov with his uninspiring forecasts when hearing the report of the mandate commission: of the 146 delegates to the conference, 66 were university graduates, five had incomplete higher education, 75 were secondary school graduates and 43 of them were party members with secondary specialized training. Therefore, the Extreme North is inhabited, voluntarily, by entirely civilized people. Their number is growing steadily, despite the harshness of the climate and the incompatibility of their salaries.

It is only very recently that the Kazakh A. S. Sarsenbayev became chief of the mobile mechanized column at Diksonstroy. However, he had long been "yearning" for the North, ever since he had done his military service in the polar region. Therefore, Sarsenbayev, chief engineer in a big construction trust, in the capital of Kazakhstan, ignoring accusations of childishness and stupid quixoticism, decided to accept the long-postponed invitation to go north. The urgent wish to work under extraordinary conditions, to build something worthy in the Arctic and to test his own mettle burst within him with new strength.

"It is much more difficult to work here than on the continent," said Sarsenbayev, with a clearly audible enthusiasm and the amazement of a neophyte in sharing his experience, after having built many rural buildings in the Kazakh steppes and a 25-story hotel and the party's Central Committee club in the republic's capital. "Here time, decisions and errors are very costly. Exceptionally responsible work is necessary!..."

The first secretary of the party's okrug committee did not dissuade but, conversely, strengthened the opinion of this newly hatched northerner, exigently summing up the results of the column's work. Firmly aware of the fact that life in the North begins with construction, he had come to the PMK [Mobile Mechanized Column], to meet its new chief and look at his work. We spent half a day visiting all parts of Sarsenbayev's enterprise.

I spent a great deal of time traveling around Taymyr together with G. S. Radayev, the first secretary of the party's okrug committee. The more I observed, listened to and got to know him, the fonder I became of this person



with a simple, good, smiling peasant face. I liked the natural and totally unaffected conversation of the party secretary, deprived of any false feeling of importance, his free and spontaneous behavior with others and responsiveness to jokes. The firmness of his views was amazingly rare. With a simple side glance Radayev could instantaneously notice any kind of disorder. A teacher by training, he knew how to listen to his interlocutors. Naturally, all of this revealed a skill acquired in the course of Komsomol and party work, including the experience gained during the time he spent in Igarka, in the Yenisey North, initially as second and then first secretary of the city party committee. He gratefully remembered the training he acquired as deputy head of the party kraykom party organization department.

"Infuse a live spirit!" These words, which the secretary frequently repeated on various occasions, were the program for his attitude toward the work. And, as it should be, man makes the work and the work makes him proud. Radayev had firmly mastered this truth.

With the firmness of a puritan the okrug party committee secretary demanded of his subordinates discipline and order and moral punctiliousness in literally everything. The "live spirit" which Radayev mentioned constantly swept off from leading positions the bookworm tired from a long stay in an elected post, who spent hours on end in painful inactivity on the job, reading novels, the fancier of drinking at all hours, the promoter of trysts in vacant apartments and the "principle-minded" patron of toadies, the tender love of which corrupted the collective.

The first secretary of the okruzhkom declared war on the ancient philosophy inherited from the past expressed in the devil-may-care formula "the North forgives everything!" behind which irresponsibility, bungling and violations of the norm of communist morality had been comfortably sheltered.

To him the human factor or, in other words, the people's knowledge, interests and moods are the starting point and the decisive component for the successful socioeconomic development of the area. During his talk with the BMK chief, he showed a lively interest in the paneling tiles with national designs, extensively used by construction workers in Kazakhstan. Informed of what their manufacturing required, Radayev challenged Sarsenbayev: "I guarantee that you will be given colored cement, but do it! Do a good job and use artists. Do it in such a way that even people from Norilsk would come to learn something!" He appealed to the professional pride of the column's chief. He praised Sarsenbayev for the warm, spacious and well-equipped garage and the comfortable and clean red corner but took him to task for the dirty shower room and the reels of telephone wire hanging on the wall.

"It is good that you began by dealing with workplaces where the work is hard, where it is cold and where ventilation is poor," said Radayev slowly, as though thinking aloud. "Expand your boiler room. Give the people more heat! We must make their work easier! Draw up a plan, let the boys think! People who feel concern can remove mountains!..."

"We must absolutely do everything possible to help those whose shirts are wet with sweat, who want to live and work in the North!" "Take a risk but do

good!" These were the words frequently used by Radayev, addressed to himself, the party workers and economic managers on all levels. He spoke with sincere admiration and lavishly praised those who were not afraid of taking a risk, who had both the desire and ability to do good for others.

Again on this occasion Radayev was suggesting to the PMK chief to look at the new administrative building of the Portstroy Construction Administration when in Dudinka. "This is not a construction administration but a greenhouse! What a beautiful cafeteria they have! You should also see their comprehensive consumer service center. Next to the office there is a heated bus stop!"

Carried away, Radayev mentioned the name of Shevtsov, director of the Kotuy Mine in Khatangskiy Rayon, who built an excellent sauna for the workers, a greenhouse which works virtually on a year-round basis and where it is not the workers who have to wait for an apartment years on end but where apartments are awaiting workers.

"You must fly to Khatanga!" urgently advised the okruzhkom secretary. "Visit the miners. You must also look up Simanovskiy in petroleum prospecting. Those who used to work with him in Tyumen have followed him, giving up high earnings..., for oil is industrially extracted in Tyumen while Simanovskiy is only looking for it!..."

I do not know whether Sarsenbayev was able to do so, but I did visit this northernmost mine in the country and the miners' village, whose multicolored homes are strung along the steep bank of the Khatanga, along which grow the famous Daur larch trees, so far north. N. P. Shevtsov, a big man of slow speech and movement, willingly showed off his project. There were things worth showing, such as the recently installed boilers which supplied the settlement with heat, the house of culture toward which hastened finishing workers to celebrate New Year's Eve, and the mine's auxiliary hog breeding farm run by the local cooperative farmers. Shevtsov had worked in the Donbass and in Spitsbergen. He tirelessly praises the incomparable beauty of the local sites: "A real Switzerland! Great fishing and hunting! And the rapids on the river leave you breathless!..."

Incidentally, it was precisely from his neighbors, the miners, that A. S. Simanovskiy, chief of the Khatanga petroleum and gas survey expedition, "copied" his hog farm.

#### The Organizer of Life

... Far away on the horizon, the cold dark crimson strip of the dawn, which had failed to appear in the few hours of daylight, was darkening far into the horizon, outside the helicopter's window. The approaching tundra, covered with reddish prickly shrubs, inhospitable even from above, was slowly sinking into the thick darkness of the polar night. In the roaring hull of the MI-8, the chief of the Khatanga expedition, who had been telling me on the ground some more frightening than entertaining "helicopter" personal experiences was now sleeping sweetly on the narrow bench, resting his head on one of the cases with home-made soap which, on the request of the procurement workers, he had brought from Dudinka.

Housed in the "Comfort" Hotel as Simanovskiy had named it, for the simple reason that he had never come across such a name, it was impossible to believe that one was in a settlement of petroleum and gas surveyers, these "northern nomads" of the tundra. The level of comfort of this hotel, converted from an old firehouse, and the tastefully decorated interiors are fantastic in this northern harshness. The guests are amazed at the properly working fireplace: a newspaper thrown in it instantly catches fire and flies up the chimney. Touchingly, the guests are offered slippers as they come here from the street after going through triple doors and two lobbies: this keeps the place warmer.

"Fedirko, the first secretary of the kraykom, was here," said Simanovskiy, emphasizing the significance of this event with his raised eyebrows. "He looked at everything closely. 'Good!' he said. His assistant later whispered to me that he had been with him for 6 years and had never before heard this word in a similar situation. He tested me. 'What is this, luxury?' he asked. 'No,' I said. 'Luxury is when there are three rooms: a living room, an office and a bedroom. This, Pavel Stefanovich, is half luxury.' 'And the workers, how do they live?' 'I will not tell you,' I said. 'If I were to show you myself you may suspect that I am setting up a Potemkin village for you!' 'What house would you like to see?' I asked. 'I want to go there!' the guest indicated with his finger. 'What entrance?' He indicated the entrance. And so, we went into one of the apartments. Fedirko looked closely at everything, asked about sleeping arrangements, and looked at the pantry. Naturally, he looked at the bathroom as well. I can understand this. When have there been sewers in the tundra!..."

For the past 2 years the expedition chief has been deprived by the Stroybank of the right to sign financial documents. Simanovskiy was punished and is "mistrusted" for building without a plan, without cost estimates, in violation of instructions. However, Simanovskiy took the risk, convinced that he was right. Stroybank, which sees to it that regulations are observed, was fully justified in penalizing the expedition chief with a fine totaling 2 months' pay. But then Hero of Socialist Labor L. I. Rovnin, RSFSR Minister of Geology, came for a visit and was enthused by the man-made beauty surrounding the members of the expedition living in the settlement and awarded its chief a bonus equal to a month's salary. One must build in the tundra and organize life. Life or the people wait for no one. And it would take years if everything were to be done in accordance with regulations which ignore local conditions. It takes 3 years from ordering to receiving complete blueprints from the institute in Magadan. Is this conceivable!...

When the chief of the new expedition came to Gubina Gora in 1979, where the prospectors' settlement was then located, it was a swamp in which tractors sank all the way to the roof of the cabin. A road had to be made through the swamp and warm and comfortable homes had to be built, for Simanovskiy firmly believed that people who work, particularly in the tundra, should not sweat it out in temporary buildings. If a person is uncomfortable, if his food is tasteless, if he has not slept adequately and if he has nowhere to go after the working day is over, what could one ask of him?

It may be 40 degrees below zero outside but the ventilation panes in the houses were open, indicating that the people were warm. It was quite amazing to see an administrative office which was also warm, clean and comfortable, although it had been quickly and inexpensively constructed of old railroad ties and planks. The old boiler room was now a club and the building of the former power plant was now a sports hall. The two were connected with a heated passage designed by Simanovskiy. At night, instead of sleeping, the chief of the expedition likes to draw. He drew up a layout for premises made of squared beams in such a way that people could change bedrooms as the wind changed. He also designed and the expedition's carpenters built a chess room and a shooting gallery, which met with universal approval, so that people could exercise their eyesight, for according to the scientists long periods of time spent in enclosed premises leads to nearsightedness. Hot-water showers were set up in the "palace" of culture and sports which the people themselves made. Simanovskiy had seen on television, from the Baltic area, an unusually designed rural store shaped like a horseshoe. He drew it and had it built: the result was a pleasant-looking tower with porches, where the produce of the expedition's auxiliary farm could be sold. It was described as a pavilion, for if a request to build a store was filed, blueprints had to be submitted together with information as to the number of salesclerks and a turnover plan. What he was after, however, was not commodity turnover but improving the people's life.

Incidentally, both Simanovskiy and his wife, a geologist, have reached retirement age. They have grown children and an apartment in Kiev. However, Simanovskiy is attached to the North, where he came at the age of 20, in 1949. Suffering from a perennial cold, he rumbles hoarsely: "One must move! Movement is life!"

Three and a half decades in the Extreme North! This implies endless nomad camps, winters, caravans of vehicles to be driven without roads and without losing a single one, wells to be drilled in bitter cold; only a professional would understand the extraordinary difficulty of all this, which also involves life in settlements where anything may happen, such as taking the rifle away from a drunken boy who stupidly, driven by jealousy, had mortally wounded his comrade; or a helicopter which almost crashed in the Ob inlet, almost 70 versts wide from one shore to the other, and 30 meters deep; nights in the tayga, spent around the bonfire; the drilled gas deposits in Yamal and industrial gas extracted in Messoyakha, which heats Norilsk; the tireless and fierce struggle against drunks and loafers, the "scourges" of the tundra; and the eternal pile of letters on the desk in the office, each one of them a challenge. "There will be oil in Taymyr!" reads an inscription in large letters on one of homes in the settlement. Simanovskiy and the collective of his expedition which employs 436 members, but has more than a thousand including their families, live with this faith.

These are the people who concern this active, rather unrestrained yet forgiving expedition chief. He deserves more than a few necessarily brief remarks which, furthermore, I have to end. But how not to mention the warm bus stop in which the children wait for the school bus, the enclosed summer houses on the bank of the Khatanga, the wooden steps leading to the very edge of the



water, which here is as valued to the people as are the famous Potemkin steps in Odessa; how not to mention the billiards room again on the banks of the river and the regulation-sized field where they play hockey in winter and minisoccer during the short summer season. How to forget the bridge crossing the stream, decorated with anchor chains taken from retired ships? Could one ignore the "Brigantina," which was a boat sunk not far from the port and was rebuilt with the skillful hands of the expedition members. It sails on the imaginary waves next to the Mishutka kindergarten, built during the 1980 Olympics. Simanovskiy is particularly proud of the kindergarten. He alone knows how difficult it was to bring to Taymyr from the distant continent special sanitation equipment, children's furniture and scarce toys, the purpose of which was not simply to entertain but to develop the children's minds and imagination.

Alone or with their parents, the older children visit the monument erected not far from the settlement. It would be difficult to bypass it and the path to it is always cleared. The children will be told the story of this monument. Personally, I found the short history of its creation important in understanding the character of the expedition's chief. When he came to Khatanga, to take over, Simanovskiy read engraved in an obelisk erected in honor of the first fighters for the Soviet system in the tundra the Ukrainian name Nikolayenko. As a Ukrainian from the Nikolayev area, a khokhla, as he jocularly refers to himself, Simanovskiy was interested in the fate of the hero. However, no one knew anything about him in Khatanga. He then wrote to Krasnoyarsk. He was informed that Nikolayenko, who was a rayon Komsomol organizer and secretary of the nomad soviet, was killed at Gubina Gora in 1932. "The survivors of the Kolchak forces, who had fled to this area, reported him trampled to death by reindeer," Simanovskiy explained. The first name of the hero was unknown. How can this be, when at that time Komsomol members were always known by their first name? "History will forgive me!" said this already elderly "red pathfinder" and christened the dead boy Vasilii. This led to the erection of a modest obelisk crowned with a five-pointed star, erected in the center of the settlement, in honor of the memory of this hero who set the example to the growing generation and to all the living, for whom this Ukrainian with the simple Ukrainian name Nikolayenko fought to the end.

"He whose shirt is wet from sweat needs help," Radayev likes to say. Simanovskiy as well is helped in his concern for the people. He is helped by the party's okhrushkom, the RSFSR Ministry of Geology and other quite unrelated organizations. It is difficult to resist his energy and the clarity and purity of his thoughts clear to the naked eye. Simanovskiy was also helped when immediately after the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the expedition undertook the implementation of the Food Program. A hog-breeding farm was quickly built. A dairy farm appeared a year later. With Radayev's help, Simanovskiy was able to purchase 12 cows and a bull from the Polyarnyy breeding sovkhov. They were flown in by helicopter. Last autumn two calves were born at the farm. The expedition cows average in excess of 4,000 kilograms of milk. The hog-breeding farm has 167 hogs and piglets, well-fed and cared for. A total of 1,400 hens were brought in from the famous Shushenskoye poultry farm, laying as many as 600 eggs daily. As many as 1,500 fresh eggs are shipped in cases to the drilling workers above all, for that is the hub of the work.

Last year the collective of the Khatanga expedition pledged to produce from its farms 10 kilograms of meat, 25 kilograms of milk and 100 eggs per worker. The obligations were overfulfilled in December. Meat production was triple the planned figure.

"We drink thick, creamy milk," Simanovskiy said. "We let the cows graze in the floodlands, where there is excellent knee-high grass. In the winter we put the cows in the barn. They are bothered by mosquitos. We were advised by specialists to spray them with a repellent. I told my people, however, to look at what happened to our neighbors, for the sovkhos knows all there is to know about cows. They sprayed the cows and four of them died, while we were lucky because of our ignorance...."

Rumor spreads rapidly in the tundra. Everyone now knows that the petroleum and gas survey expedition is the best sponsor in the area. The expedition has done a great deal for the Katyrykskiy Sovkhoz it sponsors. Here the geologists set up an eight-bed hotel trailer and a four-apartment block consisting of two trailers. They built a fuel and lubricants depot and a workshop for sewing ethnic-type clothing. They set up a power plant and made capital repairs of equipment. While I was there Radayev telephoned Simanovskiy and asked him to fly to the sovkhos and see that steps are taken to prevent the power plant cables from freezing. Simanovskiy, a fitter and a welder, flew to their help.

"One must move! Movement is life!" was a conclusion reached long ago by this risk-taking expedition chief, hard-working, smart, fair and, by unanimous opinion, eternal nomad in his lifestyle and skillful organizer by vocation.

A beautiful worker cafeteria with a cozy room for modest family celebrations stands out instead of the usual eating place. Under the light of the moon, the street lights illuminate the aluminum-colored corrugated walls of the new spacious warehouse-hangar. Machine tools from the inventory which was to be left behind and which the thrifty Simanovskiy happened to acquire for virtually nothing from the construction organization which was leaving Khatanga, are efficiently running in the machine shop. A newsflash reporting the latest labor victory of petroleum and gas surveyors far to the north, by the shores of the cold Laptev Sea, has been posted on a model of a drilling tower. The windows cut out of the thick railroad ties are brightly lit. The homes, gaily colored in green and blue, plastered on the outside and the inside where the expedition workers live, keep the warmth reliably. Through the open ventilation panels we can hear the beautiful song "Where the Homeland Begins" on the radio.

I do not know, I did not ask Simanovskiy whether he likes the song and knows its lyrics. All I know is that white birches do not grow in the Khatanga tundra, nor does an old pointed helmet hang in the home of this geologist who came to the North. However, the path to the monument of the hero-Komsomol of the tundra is always cleared, and the young larches stubbornly bend under the savage Taymyr wind, planted in a thick cluster, to sink more easily their roots into this land whose starry hour lies ahead.

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## YEAR BEFORE THE VICTORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 84 (signed to press 3 May 84) pp 81-92

[Article by V. Arkhipenko]

[Text] The newspapers of the war years...one cannot read without emotion these time-yellowed and brittle pages with faded photographs and pale print. The age, life itself, come out of those publications. The face of the time is seen in the dry official communiques and detailed surveys, and the energetic appeals of frontrankers, essays filled with publicistic passion and close-set, short notes on front-line information, tight like cartridges in a cartridge belt.

The press of the beginning of May 1944 resurrects in our memories an unforgettable moment in history, when millions of people had already become firmly confident of the final victory but when it was still not clear where and how it would come. Naturally, everyone passionately wished it to arrive as soon as possible. However, it was also clear that the enemy would not surrender without desperate resistance and that the war would demand of us a great deal more effort and blood.

### At the Front

At that time there was no newspaper or journal which would not mention to one extent or another the imminent defeat of the enemy. It was precisely at the beginning of May that the section "Let Us Finish Off the German Beast!" assumed a permanent place in the newspapers, where it remained until the final military operations.

It was precisely at that time that the journal KRASNOARMEYETS published the heartfelt lines by Aleksey Tolstoy.

"Soldiers of the Red Army, sailors of the Baltic, Black Sea and White Sea fleets, you are crushing the backbone of the German predator who exhaled its stinking breath on our homeland. You lifted the precious heart of our homeland on your powerful shoulders and are carrying it to glory, to the immeasurably richer future which the Great October opened to us. Victory is near. Hitler's 300 depleted divisions are forced by you into a hopeless defense and their fate is death or capture."

At that time Vissarion Sayanov wrote in IZVESTIYA:

"The heroes of the defense of Leningrad, Moscow, Stalingrad, the Caucasus, Sevastopol and Odessa became the heroes of the great offensive battles. How quickly time flies and how quickly the course of the war is changing! It is no accident that during a lecture on military history in one of the reserve units, a young lieutenant told the lecturer: 'Comrade lecturer, tell us in greater detail what distinctions will be awarded to the Russian regiments which will capture Berlin.' The great faith which these words expressed will be embodied in the great combat accomplishments and in the victory."

Newspapers and journals wrote of the hard but imminent victory for the sake of life on earth.

"The struggle for a clean sweep of our land from the occupation forces, the struggle for the total defeat of Hitlerite Germany, requires and will require of the people and the Red Army another stress of efforts, new miracles of heroism and courage, valor and daring. Hitlerite Germany must be and will be defeated!" (PRAVDA, 6 May).

"This enemy must be finished off so that he can no longer harm our people or the other peoples of the world. He must be finished off in the name of the highest law of humanity. Death to the German occupation forces in the name of life on earth!" (Journal PROPAGANDIST, No 9).

"Soon the fascist bandits will have to answer for all the crimes and evil deeds they have committed. Very soon!" (Newspaper SOVETSKIY PILOT, 1 May).

"...The day is not far when our arms will celebrate the final victory which will award the laurels of glory to the outstanding fighters" (newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 11 May).

Traditionally, on the occasion of May Day, the country summed up the results of its accomplishments since the beginning of the year. Naturally, the results of the war efforts held a leading position. In 4 months the Red Army had carried out three major strategic operations, at Leningrad and Novgorod, Right-Bank Ukraine and the Crimea. The operations of the two Ukrainian fronts, whose forces surrounded and eliminated a large enemy group at Korsun-Shevchenkivskiy, echoed throughout the world. All in all, in the course of its offensive the Red Army routed 172 divisions and seven enemy brigades. The enemy's losses exceeded a million men. Within that time he lost 20,000 guns and mortars, more than 4,000 tanks and about 5,000 airplanes. Right-Bank Ukraine, a considerable part of Belorussia, Leningrad Oblast and the Crimea were liberated (at the beginning of May Sevastopol was still holding out). Almost 20 million Soviet people were delivered from fascist slavery.

At the beginning of May a relative calm prevailed in the military operations. In those days the Sovinformburo briefly reported that "no substantial changes have taken place on the front." However, the thunder of war did not abate day or night. Everywhere so-called battles of local importance were being fought: attacks alternating with counterattacks, exchange of artillery fire, bombing fortified places from the air, crossings, moving columns. Every day the communiqués cited examples of daring and heroism by the Soviet



people. The front-line newspaper correspondents as well reported on military exploits.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA described the way the gun crew commanded by Senior Sgt Startsev went into battle. Three of the six German tanks which had pierced our defense in depth were hit by the artillerymen in this uneven combat. Startsev was wounded but refused to leave his gun until the self-propelled rockets came to his help and knocked out the remaining enemy tanks. The newspaper STALINSKIY SOKOL wrote about Lt Kudashkin, skipper of a PE-2 dive-bomber. While bombing an enemy crossing an anti-aircraft shell hit his gas tank and the airplane caught fire. Realizing that he would be unable to put it out, Kudashkin aimed it at a cluster of German equipment on the left bank of the river. The newspaper KRASNYY FLOT wrote about the courage of the crews of torpedo boats commanded by Capt 2nd Rank Protsenko: on several occasions they broke through the fire of convoy vessels and sunk troop transports which were evacuating enemy forces from the Crimea....

The front-line and army press and the combat leaflets printed numerous letters by our troops, describing in a simple, businesslike manner their soldierly days and comrades distinguished in battle. These letters recreate an atmosphere of daily military exploits. The following is only a small part of the editorial mail of the period:

"Our gun had been pulled far ahead, for the Hitlerites had been active since the previous evening. The Germans opened heavy artillery fire on the battle ranks of our infantry. At the same time, two enemy self-propelled guns showed up nearby. I quickly ordered gun-layer Aksenov to take aim.

"'Ready!' Aksenov reported. One of the 'Ferdinands' caught fire with the first hit. We immediately fired at the second gun and after a few direct hits it also stopped. F. Trofimov, battery party organizer" (KRASNAYA ARMIYA, newspaper of the Belorussian Front, 12 May).

"When we approached the enemy trenches, we saw that the Germans had dug themselves deep and that our bullets could not reach them. Red Army man Shul'gin was the first to rise and throw two hand grenades, one after the other. The fascists lowered their heads. The daring soldier threw more hand grenades. Six fascist vermin were killed. Red Army F. Osadchiy" (ZVEZDA SOVETOV, newspaper of the 57th Army, 9 May).

"Six IL-2 were about to attack enemy artillery positions. I was accompanied by Guards Lt Kiselev and Guards Jr Lt Leonov. When the Il'yushins pulled out, they were attacked by two ME-109s. I blocked the attack and, catching up with the leading Messerschmitt, brought it down. Leonov skillfully pursued the No 2 ME-109. Meanwhile, somewhat above us, Guards Lt Kiselev was fighting against four FW-190s, two of which he was able to knock out in skillful attacks. We suffered no losses. Guards Sr Lt I. Ganenko" (SOVETSKIY SOKOL, newspaper of the Third Air Army, 6 May).

"An enemy sniper saw me and fired. The bullet buzzed over my head. Very cautiously, I began to observe and reconnoiter the enemy. In order to make the sniper reveal himself I raised my helmet. He fired and revealed his

position. But how to kill him? I put my helmet on the parapet and quickly moved to another firing position. The enemy shot at the helmet three times. Seeing it motionless, he must have decided that he killed the Soviet sniper. He stood up from his nest to have a better look at his 'victim.' It was precisely at that moment that I killed him. Sgt. I. Chuprov" (VO SLAVU RODINY, newspaper of the 7th Army, 7 May).

"We reached the Prut at dawn. We were terribly tired, but no one thought of resting. All of us knew that the Prut was the border and everyone rushed ahead. We worked throughout the day. We were ordered to throw across the river an assault bridge. The cold river dragged the piles down and the wet coats hindered our movements. Despite the elements and the enemy, who was trying to prevent us, we went on with the work. Soon afterward the bridge was ready. It was narrow and flexible. Made of poles and rods, it swayed and touched the water as our soldiers crossed it. However, everyone daringly hastened toward the Romanian shore. Many units crossed into Romania on our bridge on that memorable day.... Jr Sgt M. Smagin" (SUVOROVSKIY NATISK, newspaper of the Second Ukrainian Front, 9 May).

"The order of the N detachment was to leave the road and set up an ambush. In the darkness of the night the companies reached the designated area where the expected enemy was to deploy. At dawn the enemy pillboxes with which the Germans were holding the road became visible. After a while a group of Germans moving toward the site of the ambush appeared on the road. These were troops guarding 400 Soviet people doing convict labor. On order the detachment troops opened fire. After a 45-minute battle 30 of the enemy were killed. Machine gunners V. Andryukhin and Mikhail Romanovskiy, Antitank Rifle No 1, destroyed with their weapons an enemy pillbox with its personnel. By routing the guards, the partisans enabled the Soviet citizens to escape to freedom in the forest. The order was carried out. Unsigned" (SOVETSKIY PATRIOT, newspaper of the Begomlskiy Rayon Party Organization (Minsk Oblast) and the Zheleznyak Partisan Brigade, 1 May).

For more than 3 weeks the communiqués invariably announced the lack of substantial changes along the fronts. At the end of the first third of May, the newspapers published the order of the supreme commander in chief, which expressed thanks to the units and formations of the Fourth Ukrainian Front and the Separate Maritime Army, which had crushed the powerful enemy defenses and liberated Sevastopol.

The distance between the advanced defense fortifications and the city was no more than 16 kilometers. Mannstein's armies had taken no less than 250 days of siege to cover this distance. Now, in the spring of 1944, it was the Hitlerites who were defending themselves. They could feel personally the changes in the ratio of forces. The intensity of the storming which began on 7 May was described by Fleet Adm I. Isakov in the following meaningful and dynamic sentences: "These were 3 days of grandiose efforts, concentrated fire and use of tanks and aviation, moved by the will of the people inspired by patriotic uplift, hatred for the aggressors and a passionate desire for revenge precisely here, on the sacred ruins of the heroic city. Three days of precise planning, firm leadership and skillful direction of interacting

infantry, artillery, aviation and all other modern means of combat, striking from several directions" (journal MORSKOY SBORNIK, Nos 5-6).

The newspapers published reports giving details of the unparalleled onslaught and describing the way this city of Russian glory was seen by the victors. It was a bitter picture, for all the aggressors had left behind was wreckage. Yet how optimistic and confident were at that time the words of the oldest Soviet writer S. Sergeyev-Tsenskiy: "We shall erect a new building for Rubo's panoramic paintings. We shall have a new Sevastopol Defense Museum, a much bigger one. We shall build a new and incomparably more powerful Black Sea fleet. Rebuilt Sevastopol will cast new glory on the generations of our people. Heartfelt greetings to you, sacred ruins of Sevastopol! Glory to you, our heroic troops and commanders liberators of the Crimea!" (newspaper STALINSKIY SOKOL, 10 May).

The victory volley fired in honor of the heroes who stormed Sevastopol summed up the results of a 4-month Red Army offensive. The command used the breathing spell to prepare new powerful strikes along the tremendous front from Karelia to the Danube.

#### All for the Front

Harsh and difficult as the life of the soldiers was, the fate of those who were in the rear was not any easier. The amount of physical and nervous stress to which the people were subjected seems today simply unbearable. "Everything for the front, everything for victory!" These words were not a mere slogan but a way of life for millions of Soviet people who worked sparing no forces, undernourished and underslept for years, not knowing the meaning of a free day from the beginning of the war...

The people withstood their trials and the country's economy passed the test in meeting the needs of the front. The occupation forces destroyed the Ukrainian, Belorussian and Moldavian industry and enterprises over a considerable part of RSFSR territory. However, the eastern areas of the country supplied the front with all that it needed. Although the war plants of virtually all of Europe worked for the Hitlerites, the Soviet troops were being supplied during that time with more weapons, mortars, tanks and airplanes than was the German-fascist army. The May newspapers and journals noted this fact with legitimate pride:

"What tremendous and immeasurable efforts were needed to relocate our industry from the frontal and threatened areas to the east! What tremendous energy was required in converting enterprises which had produced civilian goods to armaments and supplies for the Red Army! The Soviet working class honorably resolved these problems and achieved outstanding successes in the mass production of armaments, ammunition, uniforms and food and delivered them to the front on time. Thanks to the heroic efforts of our country's working class, the Red Army is being fully supplied with first-rate military ordnance" (journal BOL'SHEVIK, Nos 7-8).

"Today new tasks face us. We can and must supply the front with even more goods and master the series production of new types of weapons. The armament

workers will do everything possible so that you, our valorous troops, feel no shortage of armaments and for our war output to help our beloved Red Army to defeat the German-fascist occupation forces more rapidly. D. Ustinov, people's commissar for armaments, Hero of Socialist Labor, lieutenant general of the artillery" (newspaper ZVEZDA SOVETOV, 1 May).

"These days our aviation industry is producing more and more military aircraft for you. You and we will not slow down our pace until the sky has been entirely cleared of the fascist carrion crows. S. Il'yushin, airplane designer" (newspaper SOVETSKIY PILOT, 1 May).

At the beginning of May, one after the other the people's commissariats reported the overfulfillment of their plans for the first 4 months of the year. Telegrams reporting labor accomplishments were received from all parts of the country which was continuing its moral struggle with the aggressors and finding forces to increase capital construction in the rear. Between May 1943 and May 1944 hundreds of new plants and mines, dozens of electric power plants and railroad lines were completed. Day after day the newspapers reported the commissioning of new projects. A new mine was completed in Karaganda, a power plant in Leninabad, the first part of a plant for the production of rolled metal parts and stampings from aluminum alloys in the Urals, a blast furnace in Chelyabinsk and a plant for carbon black in a Siberian city. Hydrogenerator assemblies for the Rybinsk GES were manufactured in Leningrad.

It was reported that the sowing of the grain crops had been completed in the Ukraine and in Krasnodar Kray; a harvesting of oats had begun in Turkmenia, of tea leaves in Georgia and of root crops in Uzbekistan.

The newspapers wrote at length on the topic of rebuilding industrial and agricultural enterprises destroyed by the Hitlerites. There was a monstrous amount of losses, and the news that mines, factories, machine tractor stations, schools and housing had been rebuilt gave the Soviet people confidence that everything which the merciless enemy had blasted and burned down would be rebuilt within a short time.

"The Stalingrad Tractor Plant completed its first machine tool on 1 May 1943. That is the way the people of Stalingrad celebrated the holiday. Once again it is May Day and today Stalingrad is living and struggling. Once again it has become a producing city. Like the rest of the country, Stalingrad is celebrating May Day with increased output. Implementing its obligations in the pre-May competition, the collective of the tractor plant increased its production of diesel engines. On the occasion of May Day the collective is producing its first tractor engine" (KOMсомол'SKAYA PRAVDA, 1 May).

"Before the war the Donsoda Plant imeni Lenin in Lisichansk, the biggest of its kind in the country, accounted for more than one-half of all the soda produced in the Soviet Union. The Hitlerite scoundrels caused the plant tremendous losses. From the very first days of the liberation of Lisichansk, workers and engineers jointly undertook to rebuild the plant. It was resolved that the first part of the plant would be rebuilt by this June. The plant's collective, however, inspired by the historical victories of the Red



Army, pledged to complete the first part of the enterprise 2 months ahead of schedule. The obligation was fulfilled. The plant has already produced the first few tons of calcinated soda" (PRAVDA, 3 May).

"The Mine imeni OGPU, the largest in the Soviet Union, is being rebuilt at an accelerated pace. Many of the mine builders are girls and women. The women's youth brigade, headed by the daughter of miner Shura Bardakovskaya, who was executed by firing squad by the Germans, is working with dedication. Day after day brigade members Nina Lisova, Nadya Yermakova and Lilya Lysenko are greatly overfulfilling their assignments" (journal RABOTNITSA, Nos 4-5).

"In their helpless hatred, the brutal Hitlerites destroyed all kolkhozes, plants, schools and hospitals in the rayon and 55 percent of all rayon buildings. Happy to return to our bright life, we undertook with enthusiasm to rebuild our economy. All 72 kolkhozes, the Krichev railroad junction, 11 industrial enterprises and cooperatives, 42 schools, two hospitals, 11 outpatient-feldsher centers and electric power grids were rebuilt. K. Reutskiy, secretary of the Krichevskiy Rayon Committee, CP(b) of Belorussia, and A. Tsygankov, rayon soviet executive committee chairman" (PRAVDA, 3 May).

On 7 May the newspapers reminded the readers that 2 years had passed from the beginning of the All-Union socialist competition which was started in 1942 on the initiative of the collective of the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine. R. Belan, the enterprise's director, wrote: "The last 2 years of the all-union socialist competition were a period of the highest possible upsurge of the combine throughout its entire life. In those 2 years the combine supplied the country and the front tens of thousands of tons of cast iron, steel and rolled metal above the plan and achieved a great increase in output compared with 1941" (TRUD, 7 May).

"Entire volumes would be required to describe the outstanding accomplishments of the best Soviet people and front-ranking enterprises which emerged in leading positions as a result of the socialist competition" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 4 May).

"Our collective is experiencing unforgettable and exciting days," wrote turner-gauge maker P. Khudozhnikov from Leningrad. "Hundreds of workers are going to the shop committee to report on their new pledges which they have increased considerably compared to April. The work which will be required to carry out such obligations frightens no one. We must help the Red Army to defeat the enemy to the end and we shall do so" (TRUD, 7 May).

"In implementing its obligations, the collective of the petroleum refinery produced 24 percent for light petroleum products (gasoline, kerosene) during the first quarter and in the month of April and fulfilled its April plan ahead of schedule. The country received four trains of fuel above the plan. The plan's workers collected 120,000 rubles for the building of a tank column to be named "Neftyanik Uzbekistana. Leksashev, plant director, Gudzenko VKP(b) Central Committee party organizer, Safonov, plant committee chairman" (newspaper PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 8 May).

"The quarterly plan for the rebuilding of housing in Rostov's Oktyabr'skiy Rayon was fulfilled 108.7 percent by 1 April. Every day more than 200 women, adolescents and old-age pensioners showed up for work at the construction sites. The wives of front-line soldiers have mastered construction skills. As a result available housing area increased by 1,350 square meters. Furthermore, the residents themselves repaired 60 apartments totaling 2,300 square meters. Oktyabr'skiy Rayon won the city's socialist competition" (newspaper MOLOT, 16 May).

"The women's brigades headed by noted tractor drivers P. and N. Angelina resolved to fulfill three annual norms during the season. Already now, in the spring sowing, output per wheel-driven tractor in these front-ranking brigades has exceeded 250 hectares. Lelya Angelina was the first to fulfill her annual norm" (newspaper KRASNAYA ARMIYA, 5 May).

Another most important topic at that time was a subscription for the third state war loan, which was issued for a total of 25 billion rubles. The USSR Sovnarkom decree on the issue was published on 5 May and only a day later it was already oversubscribed. In commenting on the importance of the loan, the journal BOL'SHEVIK noted that "25 billion is one-tenth of the USSR state budget for 1944. It is almost 20 percent of the budget allocations for the Red Army and the navy. It is the equivalent of several Dneprostroys and Magnitostroys and tens of thousands of tanks and airplanes."

In reporting on the subscription of the loan several days later, the people's commissariat of finance noted that the subscribed amount totaled 28,064,170,000 rubles. Newspapers and journals dedicated entire sections to the subscription. The thought ran throughout virtually all materials that the new loan, which was issued to acquire additional funds for the country's defense, would strengthen the Red Army and that the Soviet people considered the loan one of the powerful levers for an imminent victory. That is precisely why, the press noted, the subscription became a truly nationwide movement. Instead of 3 or 4 weeks' wages as the address of the AUCCTU presidium called for, millions of working people subscribed substantially higher amounts.

At the same time, in issue after issue, letters were published by working people and military servicemen donating personal funds for the production of war equipment. Thus, in the first 10 days of May the press reported that money had been received for the construction of the following tank columns: "Sovetskaya Ukraina," "Chernigovskiy Kolkhoznik," "Zvil'na Dnepropetrovshchina," "Irkutskiy Zheleznodorozhnik," "Neftyanik Uzbekistana," "Molodaya Gvardiya" (Krasnodon), "Smert' Nemetskim Zakhvatchikam" (Nalchik) and "Lembitu" (Estonian National Corps). During that time the press also reported on money contributed for the aviation squadrons "Osvobodhdennaya Belarus'," "Osvobezhdennyy Don," "Bogatyri Donbassa," "Tashauzskiy Kolkhozniki," "Tambovskiy Komsomolets" and "Kamchatka-Frontu."

As the press reported, the collection of food and warm clothing for front-line troops continued in towns and villages. The families of front-line troops were not ignored as well. Here is a typical note of the period:

"The working people in our rayon collected as aid to families of military servicemen 220,000 rubles in cash and products, as follows: 1,862 kilograms of meat, 1,892 kilograms of groats, 324 kilograms of fats, 270 kilograms of sugar, 34 tons of vegetables and 4,800 kilograms of flour. May our concern for the families of the defenders of the homeland inspire our valorous Red Army to new heroic exploits and speed up the routing of the German-fascist aggressors. Khasaradzhe, chairman of the Ilichevskiy Rayon Executive Committee, Krok, secretary of the Ilichevskiy Raykom CP(b) of the Ukraine, Yerokhin, secretary of the Komsomol Raykom" (PRAVDA, 3 May).

Most characteristically, the front as well did not forget those who had remained behind and were trying to help, the children in particular. Here is a small news item from a divisional newspaper:

"On the initiative of the Komsomol organization, our subunit is collecting funds for aid to the children who lost their parents during the war. Privates, sergeants and officers are willingly contributing their savings. Lieutenant Telesnov contributed 400 rubles and Senior Sergeant Zubov, 250 rubles. All in all, officers and ranks collected 8,000 rubles as aid to orphans. Vlad. Koshelev, Red Armyman, Komsomol organizer" (newspaper of the 132nd Infantry Division V ATAKU!, 3 May).

Another feature of that wartime spring was that the country undertook to resolve problems of the imminent time of peace and the press began to publish materials on work the results of which would come after the victory. In its May Day issue TRUD published a small report to the effect that the construction of a new metallurgical enterprise had been undertaken in the Transcaucasus. The specific site was not indicated. Another 6 years were to pass before the people would learn that the first blast furnace of the Rustavi plant had produced its first cast iron.

During that period the VKB(b) Central Committee resolved to resume publication of the journal PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO, clearly pointing out that its task would be to develop problems of the socialist economy and the restoration of the country's national economy.

The time came when through the harsh and fierce features of the war the signs of peaceful life began to appear, like the first shoots in spring, something which seemed infinitely distant in the flames of the war. Once again Sunday became a day of rest in many plants, food supplies improved and the activities of cultural clubs and homes were energized. The people focused their attention on posters announcing performances by theaters returning from evacuation, ice cream carts appeared at intersections and replanted flowerbeds on city squares....

The newspapers reported the USSR Sovnarkom decree on sending 2,370,000 children from the cities to dachas and Pioneer camps during the summer months, first of all children of military servicemen and Patriotic War invalids. The newspapers' special correspondents wrote about landscaping projects in Voronezh, a citywide exhibit of the works of young painters in Solikamsk, the enrollment of first-year students at the medical institute in Smolensk, concerts of

Volga songs by the plant chorus in Saratov and the opening of a sports school for children in Kursk.

The readers were particularly excited by the news that soccer games for the Moscow championship had been resumed. It cannot be said that soccer was not played even during most difficult times. It was. Individual meets took place in rear cities at military garrisons. We know that a game was played virtually under artillery fire in besieged Leningrad. Front-line troops played soccer for recreation after battle. This, however, was something else: the game was being played by famous soccer masters. A brief announcement to the effect that the teams of the Central People's Army Club and Spartak, Dinamo and Torpedo had played at the opening of the soccer season in Moscow brought happiness not only to their fans at the front and the rear but to all readers, for this announcement was further proof that a peaceful life was at hand.

In the May issue of the journal KRASNOARMEYETS Il'ya Erenburg wrote:

"Let us finish off the killers. Then we shall have the type of spring, blossoms and songs unimaginable today. My language has become coarse. I am speaking about the Krauts too much. However, the hour is near when we shall begin to talk about something else: the crops, love, spring. A little bit more! Happiness lies ahead."

Millions of Soviet people tangibly felt the imminent advent of this victorious spring during the days of May 1944.

#### Echo of the Victorious Offensive

During the postwar years the bourgeois falsifiers of history have wasted tremendous efforts to conceal, to suppress the decisive role which the Soviet people played in the defeat of Hitlerite Germany and to prove that military operations of the Anglo-American troops were of decisive importance. The Second Front is depicted as primary in books, television broadcasts and motion pictures. The generations which grew up in the postwar years have been raised on such works in the West. Several years ago, when the documentary Soviet-American serial on the Great Patriotic War was televised in the United States, it was shown under the title of "The Unknown War." Sad though it is, the title reflected the situation quite accurately. It became a true revelation for millions of television viewers who were totally unfamiliar with the struggle waged by the Soviet people against fascism.

At that time, however, in 1944, the population of allied and neutral countries was well-informed on the situation at the Soviet-German front from the military communiques regularly published in the press or broadcast on the radio. Each successful offensive launched by the Red Army invariably triggered a wave of universal enthusiasm. The results of the several-month-long offensive by the Soviet troops were highly rated by the military observers and press commentators in the Allied countries.

In summing up the latest events, the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE wrote in an editorial that the Red Army is "spoiling the German strategy of the post-Kursk



period, which was aimed at saving people and ordnance for inflicting a crushing defeat on the forces which would invade from the West while maintaining their positions on the Soviet front."

THE NEW YORK TIMES assessed the situation as follows: "The Germans have weakened the army which they created in the West with such difficulties. The divisions training in Germany to oppose the invasion are being sent to the East.... Germany has depleted its garrisons in the West but this is too late to stop the pressure of the Red Army...."

The British NEWS CHRONICLE reported on events in an uplifted mood: "This is a case of a splendid record. It is a history of an advance which, in some areas, covered as much 1,200 miles. It is a history of decisive actions, which are a prelude to the Second Front."

THE DAILY MAIL, another British newspaper, noted that "today the Germans appear like bumbling dilettantes compared to the people who formulated the Russian strategy."

The crossing of the river Prut by the forces of the Second Ukrainian Front triggered the broadest response among of all the military events in the spring of 1944. The soldiers who crossed the river in boats and rafts and opened the first small bridgeheads on the right bank of the river could not even suspect that the echo of their small landing would be heard in London and New York, yet this was precisely the case. With the emergence of Soviet troops on the Romanian shore, as the press of that time wrote, for the first time in the war combat operations took place on the territory of a foreign country.

Starting with small bridgeheads on the right bank of the Prut, the forces of the Second Ukrainian Front rapidly converted to large-scale operations on Romanian territory, routing the forces of Antonescu, Hitler's stooge. By the middle of April they had already advanced more than 100 kilometers inside the country and liberated more than 800 settlements inhabited by about 400,000 people. The entry of the Soviet troops was rated by the Soviet people and the peoples of Europe as an important historical event and strengthened their faith in the inevitable defeat of fascist Germany even further.

Not far behind was the penetration of the Red Army into the territories of other Eastern European countries. This drastically changed not only the military but the political situation as well, the more so since it marked contacts and complex relations with countries with different social systems. Like a sensitive barometer, the Western press immediately reacted to this circumstance. Reviews and comments began to carry all types of forecasts and guesses as to whether or not the Soviet troops would behave as conquerors. Goebbels' propaganda as well was energized, using its still-substantial strength, by frightening the Allies with the horrors of the "bolshhevik invasion."

The Soviet government did not keep its foreign policy intentions secret. The declaration it issued spoke of the shifting of military operations to Romanian

territory. It emphasized that our government had no intention of appropriating any part of Romanian territory or changing its social system.

That same evening the declaration was communicated to the news agencies throughout the world and was the subject of lively comments in many Western newspapers. The May Day order of the supreme commander in chief, which answered many questions and laid proper emphasis wherever necessary, drew the even greater attention of the press and the radio. It was no accident that the leading newspapers in Great Britain and the United States printed it under big headlines. Numerous commentators pointed out that the order expressed a high appreciation of the aid of the Allies, mentioned the importance of interaction and the need for closer unity for the sake of the definitive routing of the enemy. The topic of the approaching triumph over the enemy, the great contribution of the Soviet people to the defeat of fascism and the importance of Allied unity dominated the Western press at the beginning of May. Thoughts on the nature of postwar relations were expressed with increasing frequency.

THE NEW YORK TIMES (United States): "The degree of unity we were able to achieve will essentially determine the speed of victory."

THE BALTIMORE SUN (United States): "...The spirit of cooperation among the Allies is continuing to grow despite past difficulties and enemy propaganda efforts to separate the Soviet Union from its Western allies."

THE POST-DISPATCH (United States): "Each new mile of liberated Soviet land and the routing of each new Nazi division by the Red Army brings closer the opening of the Second Front and the moment of final victory."

THE DAILY EXPRESS (Great Britain): "It is thus that, while the decisive hour is nearing, reciprocal trust and respect among the allied nations are increasing and flourishing."

THE YORKSHIRE POST (Great Britain): "To the enemy this means the death of their hopes of dividing the United Nations."

THE DAILY EXPRESS (Great Britain): "The nations united today for the greatest joint efforts to surmount the worst evil which has ever existed must work together in peace as they do in war."

THE STAR (Canada), in an announcement on a meeting sponsored by the National Council for Soviet-Canadian Friendship, made by Archbishop S. Garbett, quoted his words: "Our views are different from those of the Russians in many respects. However, Russia and its greatness are an essential factor in building a new world after the end of the war."

Only a few days after the publication of the lively response to the May Day order, a new event attracted the attention of the Western press: an agreement on relations between the Soviet commander in chief and the Czechoslovak administration after the entry of Soviet forces on Czechoslovak territory was signed in London on 8 May. The Allied press assessed this document as a new proof of the aspiration of the Soviet government to preserve the freedom and independence of contiguous states.

THE POST-DISPATCH (United States): "Let the Western world look closely, remember and be ashamed of the fact that Munich could happen in our time. Democracy comes to Czechoslovakia not from the West but from the East."

Reactions to the agreement appeared in the neutral press as well. The Turkish newspaper (LYA-TORKI) published the following enthusiastic comment:

"The tremendous prestige which the Russians gained with their legendary heroism in the struggle against the German forces was doubled and tripled thanks to their conscientiousness in the problem of recognizing the independence of the Allied countries they liberate. The USSR proved that above all it recognizes the rights of the other peoples. Tomorrow's Europe will unquestionably appreciate such a position held by the Soviet Union."

This statement was somewhat unexpected for a newspaper published in a country the government of which was thinking of entering the war on Germany's side until the German forces were routed at Stalingrad....

Actually, in 1944 assertions of friendship and words of unity did not come out of newspaper comments only. None other than Winston Churchill expressed these "lofty" words from a high rostrum. The weekly BRITANSKIY SOYUZNIK, published by the British Embassy in Moscow, reported that in a speech in the House of Commons, on 22 February 1944, Churchill said:

"I deem it fully justified to assure the chamber of the following extremely important point:

"Not one of the achievements of Moscow and Teheran has been lost. The three great allies are absolutely united in their actions against the common enemy. They are equally resolved to pursue the war at all cost, to its victorious completion, and they believe that after Hitler's tyranny has been destroyed, a wide field for friendly cooperation will be opened to them.

"The future of the entire world depends precisely on such lengthy, close and honorable cooperation."

Two years later, in a speech at Westminster College (Fulton, Missouri), Churchill spoke of the creation of an Anglo-American military alliance aimed against the USSR.

Progressive mankind sensed with concern that his words contained an open call for a third world war.

Yes, in May 1944 everyone was already aware of the inevitable and total defeat of the aggressor. However, when precisely would the long-awaited victory come and would this great holiday come soon? How many more days, weeks and months would blood be shed on the battlefields? It was clear that the opening of the Second Front would considerably hasten the defeat of the enemy. Meanwhile, the Allies were in no hurry....

"The Germans are still hoping to gain time. 'The longer the enemy lingers,' wrote at that time a German fascist newspaper on the subject of the invasion,

'the stronger will our resistance be.' This final hope of the German gangsters must be defeated! The time factor must be taken out of enemy hands! The faster the huge armed forces gathered and trained by our Allies join the battle, the sooner will the day of victory come and the fewer casualties will be suffered in defeating the enemy" (journal VOYNA i RABOCHIY KLASS, No 9).

"Punctiliously fulfilling its obligations assumed at the Moscow and Teheran conferences, the Soviet Union has directed and is directing all its efforts to the main objective: the soonest possible defeat of the Hitlerite coalition and the shortening of the war, i.e., to the lofty objective consistent with the basic interests of all freedom-loving peoples" (journal PROPAGANDIST, No 9).

No one knew then that it would be precisely the scope and results of the offensive operations mounted by the Red Army one after the other, and the fact that it reached the borders of the Eastern European countries, which triggered fears that the Soviet forces would defeat Germany even without a Second Front, would hasten its opening.

No one could know precisely on that warm spring day of 9 May 1944 that it was exactly 1 year away from the victory salvo. Ahead lay hundreds of kilometers and blood-shedding battles in Karelia, Belorussia and the Baltic area, the liberation of the peoples of Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Austria from the fascist yoke, the penetration inside German territory and the ignominious defeat of the "Third Reich," which only shortly before that the Nazis had extolled as destined to last a thousand years.

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## EQUAL NEGOTIATIONS AND NOT MILITARY ANTAGONISM

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[Article by Prof L. Tolkunov, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] The world situation continues to be complex and, at times, tense. Washington's aggressive policy is a cause of anxiety for millions of people on all continents. Those on the other side of the ocean stubbornly refuse to recognize the most important reality of our period, the necessity of peaceful cooperation between states belonging to different sociopolitical systems and of solving all disputes through honest negotiations on the basis of equality and equal security, which alone can reliably ensure the future of mankind and save the world from a nuclear cataclysm.

As is well-known, the U.S. leadership has recently engaged in an escalation of war preparations and made attempts at embellishing its policy's appearance in the eyes of the American and world public. It is for this purpose that Washington strives to create the impression that the incumbent administration allegedly supports "realistic and productive working relations with the USSR." However, the essence of this "diplomacy of smiles," as the Western press has nicknamed the propaganda campaign launched by Reagan, is all too obvious. Testifying both to the serious failures of the policy from the "position of strength" and to the tactical preelection shifts of the White House, this campaign does not change the dangerous direction of American policy. It is not false "peace-loving" utterances, but real actions and a concrete response to the Soviet proposals aimed at saving the world from the threat of a world nuclear war that the peoples of the world expect from the U.S. leaders. If the Washington administration really thinks about normalizing international relations, then it should first of all renounce all attempts to upset the existing military-strategic balance and the increase in nuclear weapons, and make efforts to limit and reduce them.

As regards our country, it is always ready for dialogue and for serious and responsible consideration of all acute problems, including the problems of war and peace above all. This year, the USSR's Leninist foreign political course was confirmed with new force by the February and April CPSU Central Committee plenums and the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation. This course is aimed at eliminating the threat of thermonuclear war, at firmly repelling the aggressive schemes of imperialism, and at strengthening the peace and security of peoples. At the February 1984

Plenum, Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasized: "Great Lenin bequeathed to us the principle of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. We are immutably true to this principle. At present, in the century of nuclear weapons and super-accurate missiles, this principle is needed by peoples more than ever before."

## I

The defeat of fascism resulted in profound changes in the world situation. The fundamental turn that had taken place in the correlation of class and political forces to the advantage of socialism, which has grown into a world system, has opened up new possibilities for asserting the principle of peaceful coexistence on a worldwide scale.

All peoples, worn out and drained of their blood by the war, vitally needed peace. And, of course, our country, which had suffered the greatest human sacrifices and lost about one-third of its national resources, acutely needed a stable peace and peaceful coexistence with states of different social systems.

In this situation, the U.S. ruling circles counterbalanced the idea of peaceful coexistence with the concept of force and, instead of equal and mutually beneficial cooperation, they advanced their refined plans for pursuing a policy of world diktat, open interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries and direct confrontation. In their aspiration to intimidate the Soviet Union and to compel it to recognize American world leadership, the U.S. imperialist circles placed the main stake on America's economic power, which had grown during the war and, first and foremost, on its temporary monopoly on nuclear weapons. It is known on the basis of U.S. archive documents that have been declassified, that plans to use the atomic bomb against the USSR began immediately after its testing. Several projects were worked out envisaging the possibility of carrying out an atomic strike against the Soviet Union.

As many American officials have repeatedly admitted, the American atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 was not motivated by any military necessity, but by a clear desire to demonstrate power. This was the first ominous stone laid in the foundations of the "cold war." And the "cold war" manifesto was the Fulton speech by W. Churchill on 5 March 1946, in which he called for a "crusade" against socialism and for establishing Anglo-American supremacy "not only in our time, but for the entire century."

The "cold war" was waged with unbridled ideological provocations, in addition to the political, military and economic measures utilized in it. It was precisely in those years that stereotypes and cliches of anticommunist propaganda were worked out and various types of doctrines advanced that were supposed to provide a "theoretical" foundation for the aggressive course of imperialism for many years and that were aimed at undermining the very foundations of the policy of peaceful coexistence. In the "cold war" period, the United States

began persistently to introduce a long-term strategy of ideological diversions against the socialist states into the practice of international relations, thereby laying the foundation for propaganda aggression.

American imperialism developed a mass ideological offensive against the Soviet Union and its policy of peace and peaceful coexistence and threw the entire arsenal of its propaganda resources into substantiating the adventurous policy of "containment" and then, in the beginning of the 1950s, of "rolling back" communism. It was by means of the arms race, nuclear blackmail, military-political confrontation, anticommunist and anti-Soviet hysteria, and other similar means that the United States calculated on achieving a decisive weakening of the Soviet Union, restoring bourgeois systems in the countries of people's democracy, and dividing the world according to the American conditions.

As a result of this, international relations were exacerbated to the extreme. A heavy blow was dealt to the foundations of peaceful coexistence, and mankind found itself on the brink of a new war. It was no accident that, precisely in that period, J. F. Dulles and other like-minded individuals repeatedly invoked the formula of "balancing on the brink of war," which has become especially popular with and has been further developed by the incumbent Washington administration.

In April 1949, an aggressive military-political group, the North Atlantic bloc, was founded under the U.S. aegis, thus creating a direct threat to the Soviet Union and its allies.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries were compelled to take countermeasures to ensure their security. It was for this purpose that on 14 May 1955 the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was signed in Warsaw, securing the formation of a defensive military-political alliance of the fraternal countries of socialism, the Warsaw Pact Organization.

In this way, the "cold war" resulted in Europe's division into two opposing military-political groups, raised a barrier between the two parts of the continent that can only be surmounted with difficulty, and disrupted European cooperation for decades to come. This was yet another critical test of two approaches to the problems of mutual relations between states with different systems.

The Soviet Union and other forces of peace and progress passed this test with honor. The bankruptcy of the imperialist policy of force was clearly demonstrated. At the same time, the peoples' confidence in the peace-loving policy of the land of the soviets grew even more.

Peaceful coexistence and the Leninist principles of mutual relations between states on which it is founded were more and more woven into the fabric and body of international relations and became a dominating factor of their development. Under the conditions of a changed correlation of forces between

the two systems to the advantage of peace and socialism, and of the real possibilities opened up for curbing the imperialist warmongers and aggressors, the question of war and peace and, accordingly of possibilities for consolidating peaceful coexistence, again became topical.

The most sober-minded political circles in the countries of capitalism began to move toward recognizing the fact that the fundamentally changed world situation and the very appearance and development of nuclear weapons made impossible the settlement of the principal historical controversy between capitalism and socialism by means of military conflicts. A world war ceased to be inevitable. And when, in the middle of the 1960s, the USSR and the United States reached missile and nuclear parity, this truth became even more obvious. The practical implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence opened up the possibility of excluding war from the life of mankind altogether. All this compelled realistically thinking politicians in the West to seek new foundations for their relations with the world of socialism, something that inevitably led them to recognize the principle of peaceful coexistence as the only alternative to a nuclear war. For the first time in history, real prospects existed for implementing this principle on a large scale.

Striving to ensure a radical turn in the development of international relations along this line, the Soviet Union worked out a broad program of struggle to safeguard peace and international security; the concentrated expression of this program was the Peace Program, adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and further developed and supplemented by the subsequent party congresses. It determined an entire complex of measures for solving the most immediate problems of the contemporary period.

Major credit is due to the peace-loving efforts and immense multifaceted work of the Soviet Union for achieving a radical turn from the "cold war" to detente at the beginning of the 1970s.

Detente, which was particularly evident on the European continent, represented convincing testimony of how great the advantages of peaceful coexistence are and of how substantial its real and potential possibilities are. The development of the USSR's comprehensive relations with a number of capitalist states, such as, for instance, Finland, France and the FRG, most obviously demonstrated that regardless of social and class differences, the struggle of ideas is not an obstacle to consolidating mutually beneficial interstate relations.

In essence, detente is a practical confirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations. The international recognition by a number of major Western states of these principles as the foundation of mutual relations between states with different social systems can be considered an historical achievement of the contemporary period.

The positive effect of detente on the general improvement of the international situation was crowned by the successful CSCE in 1975, which raised the relations between states to a level of confidence. During the conference,



the fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence, which the Soviet Union had continued to defend for several decades, won general European recognition and became the norm of relation between states with different social systems at the present stage.

The transition from the "cold war" to detente was propitious for considering the problem of disarmament, the main condition for international security. The successes of the political detente moved to the forefront the problem of extending it to the military sphere. At the same time, damming up some of the channels of the arms race also had a noticeable effect on establishing a new political climate in international relations and demonstrated that the joint steps of the states of both systems toward delivering mankind from the threat of annihilation are not only desirable, but also possible.

## II

But the successes in developing international cooperation immediately encountered bitter counteractions from the most reactionary circles of imperialism. The latter embarked on a path of trying to discredit the policy of detente and to distort and emasculate its substance. While all kinds of absurd claims were made about the Soviet Union's unilateral gains from detente and about the mythical and allegedly unjustified "concessions" made by the West, demands were also made to extend peaceful coexistence, as interpreted by the West, to the ideological sphere and as well, thereby to achieve an uncontrolled ideological penetration of the socialist states, in particular under the far-fetched proposal for a free exchange of ideas and information. The West German journal AUSSENPOLITIK somehow stated frankly: "It is necessary to employ all modern propaganda means and skillful methods of physiological struggle and to implant our morals and ideology in the social consciousness of the population of countries of the communist camp. Exploiting the national differences, religious prejudices and such human weaknesses as envy, female vanity and desire for pleasure, it is necessary to develop an attitude of indifference toward the goals of the communist state leadership."

All these solicitations for ideological coexistence have concealed and continue to conceal attempts to introduce such an interpretation of the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence that would allow open interference in the internal affairs of the countries of socialism, make them renounce their support for revolutionary movements, and induce them to end the ideological struggle. In other words, the goal is to stretch the boundaries of the policy of peaceful coexistence to the sphere of ideology, that is, to "deideologize" [deideologizirovat] peaceful coexistence, as it is expressed in the West, and deprive it of its social and class characteristics. Even more fruitful results could have undoubtedly been achieved in implementing the policy of detente if, without renouncing the ideological struggle, the socialist and capitalist states had been able to cooperate in upholding the ideas of peace and mutual understanding and trust and in condemning the propaganda of war, aggression, national hatred and racism. It is precisely from these positions that the Soviet Union has always proceeded in its approach to the ideological struggle in international relations, invariably emphasizing that this struggle should not poison the general climate in interstate relations or hinder the process of detente.

However, demanding that the countries of socialism renounce the ideological struggle, the Western leaders continue to intensify their attacks on the USSR and to use these attacks to cover up violations of the norms of international law, to destabilize regimes and governments they find objectionable, to further their ideological expansion and aggression and to create an appropriate psychological climate for the arms race and military confrontation. In this way, the West has increased the scope of replacing an honest struggle to win the minds of people with the "psychological warfare" that it uses not only to ideologically prepare for the breakdown of the process of detente and a transition to the policy of bitter confrontation, but also as an independent component of the "policy from a position of strength" cherished by the reactionary imperialist circles.

Undermining the new social system from within by using the most diverse means, including ideological diversions, has now been turned into one of the important forms of the struggle against world socialism by the most reactionary circles in the West. This fact has been eloquently demonstrated by the vain attempts of the imperialist forces to tear Poland away from the socialist community and to use the example of Poland to prove an alleged "inevitable crisis of socialism" in order to unleash a large-scale offensive against it in all directions.

The reorientation of the policy of imperialism to a global offensive against socialism has been especially noticeable following the arrival of President R. Reagan's ultra-right wing group in the White House. "As is well-known to you," R. Reagan recently confessed to a representative of the Israeli lobby in Washington, "I am constantly returning to the Old Testament and to the omens presaging Armageddon. I keep catching myself thinking whether we are the generation that will face all this. I do not know whether you have recently sensed the correctness of any of these prophecies. But believe me, they describe precisely the period in which we live."

The myth about an "inevitable Armageddon," that is, about a final war preceding the end of the world and the coming of the kingdom of heaven on earth, is not simply a fantasy of religious sectarians separate from politics. It is a factor which must be taken into account when appraising current U.S. policy. As one Western journalist wrote, the idea of Reagan as some kind of reckless cowboy in fact conceals his fundamentalist-religious world outlook. What he says about communism, which is going to end up on the "ash heap of history," fills America's allies with uncertainty and alarm. Is Reagan perhaps planning his own Armageddon, they ask. Never has Reagan's philosophy manifested itself so clearly, writes the West German journal STERN, as in March 1983 at a meeting of "fundamentalist preachers" in Florida. It is not the arms race which is the most important problem of our time, said the U.S. President at the meeting, but the struggle between good and evil. America, which has been "spiritually awakened" and "morally renewed," is now struggling against the "aggressive impulses of the empire of evil," as Reagan calls the Soviet Union.

Having set himself the aim of leaving communism on the "ash heap of history," President Reagan has proclaimed a new "crusade" against socialism. The vast

arsenal of U.S. information-propaganda means is used for the purposes of propagandist aggression, for the struggle against the ideas of peaceful co-existence, detente and against the foreign and domestic policies of the Soviet state and the other socialist countries.

The incumbent Washington administration has made advocacy of preparation for war and ideological diversions the key element of American foreign policy. Washington's propaganda apparatus has been reorganized and strengthened--a special committee has been formed for planning foreign policy propaganda at the cabinet level.

Expenditures on foreign radio broadcasting have been increased. A massive campaign of large-scale ideological provocations against the socialist countries has been developed.

Imperialism has begun practicing absolute piracy on the air, is trying to organize real information-propagandist intervention against the world of socialism, and is turning radio and television channels into a weapon for undermining and inciting actions. There are approximately 400 anti-Soviet centers now operating abroad. Approximately 40 foreign radio stations broadcast to our country in 23 of the languages of the peoples of the USSR for a total of more than 200 hours a day.

Long before the right-wing majority in the West German Bundestag gave the "green light" to the deployment of American Pershing II and cruise missiles on the territory of the FRG, means of "psychological warfare" such as the radio stations Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe were already located in Munich. In 1952, the FRG gave the United States the right to build radio broadcasting stations on its territory for the transmission, as it was noted in the agreement, of "programs of any kind." The significance of this was made clear when Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe began operating. These radio stations and the editors and announcers working at them are only the visible part of the huge iceberg of Washington's special services, which are waging a total "psychological war" against the socialist countries.

The U.S. General Accounting Office, with which the responsibility rests for preparing information material for the American Congress on the utilization of government appropriations, checked the work of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe and presented Congress with a multitude of reports indicating that the programs of these radio stations contain false information and disseminate provocative statements, slander and appeals to sabotage and anti-state acts.

The ideological diversions on the air, in which subversive anti-Soviet centers work under the wing of state services, most crudely violate a whole series of international agreements, and in particular the convention which came into force as early as 1938. This convention laid down the principles of the use of radio broadcasting in the interests of peace. In one of the clauses of the convention, it is directly pointed out: "The high contracting parties take the mutual obligation upon themselves to prohibit and if necessary to immediately discontinue any radio programs broadcast from their

territory that could damage international good will by means of assertions and statements the falsity of which is well-known or should be well-known to those persons responsible for these radio programs." Methods of moral and state terrorism are used in U.S. foreign policy with regard to countries it finds objectionable, and the whole propaganda arsenal is mobilized for a new "crusade" against socialism in the traditions of the doctrine of "global containment" of the "cold war" times. Of paramount importance in the widening campaign of lies and slander is the same infamous myth about the "Soviet threat." Under the pretext of defending democracy, not only ideological, but also direct military interference in the internal affairs of sovereign developing states is implemented, and their political structure is reshaped according to imperialist measures. A vast "program of democracy and public diplomacy"--a program of global ideological intervention and subversive activities--has been developed to serve such actions in the spirit of the "cold war."

As the heads of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) reported at a special press conference, appropriations for this agency in the coming financial year will be increased by 28 percent in comparison to the appropriations for the current year and will total \$849 million. We are delighted, USIA Deputy Director Lenkovskiy told journalists, that in a period of financial cutbacks, the administration has increased our budget to such a large sum. In percentage terms, the increase in appropriations for the agency will even exceed the increase in the U.S. military budget.

With the signing of an agreement to reorganize the voice of America relay station located in Morocco, President Reagan said in March 1984: "Our administration has begun modernizing the voice of American radio stations with the main determination with which President Eisenhower and President Kennedy implemented the program for research in their day."

The United States has already built a satellite television network, Euronet, which covers Western Europe. Now it is rapidly expanding and will soon embrace Latin America, Asia and Africa. C. Wick, director of USIA, has stated that this network, Worldnet, will supposedly open up "new horizons in the sphere of public diplomacy." He admitted that the propagandist television network which has been built is one of 44 projects within the framework of the infamous "Program of Democracy and Public Diplomacy," which, as is well-known, is aimed at the mass "brainwashing" of the international public, at the infiltration of CIA agents in the political, trade union and social organizations of other countries and their mass information media, and at the organization of subversive operations against governments unfavorable to Washington.

Even the population of the most developed capitalist states is subjected to ideological-political and ideological pressure and blackmail. They strive to instill the idea in people that nuclear war is inevitable, to cultivate a pathological hatred of everything Soviet and socialist and to propagate chauvinist sentiments and the cult of force. The "crusade," the sharp edge of which is directed against socialism, is growing to the scale of an "ideological war" against all those whom Washington's policies of diktat and tyranny



do not suit and who do not like the American political, economic and ideological systems. To make these systems the only possible ones and compulsory through the world is the purpose of the diplomacy of state terrorism now broadly implemented by Washington. Whereas the United States tries to exert military pressure on the young states with the aid of "Rapid Deployment Forces," the aim of the new diplomacy is to undermine them from within. Whole regions of the earth, which are proclaimed to be "zones of American security," are becoming the direct object of ideological expansion. An interdepartmental group has been formed for the purpose of implementing this expansion. The group is made up of representatives of foreign policy and propaganda departments and has been placed under the authority of the President's assistant for national security. In accordance with the planned aims, popularization of the "ideals" of free enterprise is in full swing in the Asian, African and Latin American countries, preservation of the economic dependence of the liberated countries upon the imperialist states is rationalized and actions to undermine the prestige of the socialist countries in these states are prepared and implemented.

The combination of ideological subversive activities and the threat of force has become one of the characteristic features of the tactics of the contemporary "psychological war." From the formation of "five columns in other countries to the organization of secret operations to destabilize popular regimes, and from ideological diversions and provocations to direct armed intervention and acts of genocide--such is the range of Reagan's "crusade."

### III

One of imperialism's ideological screens is the idea, much loved in the West, that peace in contemporary conditions is possible only as the result of a "balance of fear." Developing this thesis, ruling U.S. circles claim that only armament can ensure disarmament, and only force can ensure peace. Having declared the Soviet Union enemy No 1, the extreme right-wing imperialist circles try to justify the senseless arms race and the buildup of international tension with the help of a global ideological offensive.

All the real and supposed actions of the Soviet Union are presented in the light of the slanderous fabrications of a "Soviet threat," "the communist danger," and "Soviet expansion." In order to falsify our country's foreign policy course and the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence, the U.S. military-industrial complex is once again trying to breath life into the myth of the 1960s that the "United States is lagging behind in numbers of missiles" and is resorting to intimidating the public with the supposedly terrifying and paralyzing Soviet reserve of intercontinental ballistic missiles. In order to conceal its policy of tough confrontation and arms race, the idea is being spread that there is a "growing necessity" for the Soviet Union to reduce its arms on the one hand, while it is "right" that the United States and NATO should amass new arms in their arsenals on the other. The aim behind all this is clearly seen--to break the existing military balance between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact Organization and the North Atlantic bloc, to assume a "position of strength," and to dictate its will to other states, including at the negotiating table. In this connection, American propaganda places particular emphasis upon the "insuperable

nature of the confrontation" between the USSR and the United States. It is claimed that this confrontation can be eliminated only in the event of a "decisive victory" by one of the sides and, correspondingly, the complete defeat of the other.

Thus, the current political-propagandist tactics of the ruling circles of American imperialism consist of demagogically assuring the world audience of their "peaceful intentions," while at the same time substantiating the impossibility of their implementing these intentions by referring to the "uncompromising nature" of the USSR and proving the necessity of stepping up the "crusade" against socialism. While bewailing the United States' military lag and the appearance of some "window of vulnerability" in American defense, Washington pursues a policy of ideologically-theoretically substantiating the possibility of there being nuclear wars of different scales and intensity. Nuclear war is being transferred to the category of possible and even expedient, and victory in such a war is being presented as something attainable.

The losses of the sides in a future nuclear conflict are calculated with cold cynicism. The highest ranking politicians on the other side of the ocean frenziedly conduct shameless and open war propaganda, ignoring the fact that this kind of propaganda was at one time forbidden by special UN resolutions. Virtually the whole vast apparatus of U.S. imperialist propaganda is engaged in trying to persuade the peoples of the permissibility and expediency of carrying out a first disarming nuclear strike against the USSR. Washington counts upon turning thickly populated Western Europe into a theater for a "limited" nuclear war first of all.

Many Western Europeans are considering this catastrophic prospect and the echo of their indignant protests, disagreement and objections is reaching the United States. A brochure entitled "Nuclear Weapons in Europe," published in Washington admits that the deployment of new American missile systems that has begun in certain countries of the old continent is leading to the further exacerbation of the disagreements within NATO and is calling the whole military doctrine and policy of this bloc into question. It is worth noting that the brochure was prepared under the aegis of the Council for International Relations--an organization which exerts considerable influence upon U.S. foreign policy.

One of the authors of this publication, the prominent West German figure Voigt, thinks that the deployment of Pershing II missiles should be totally abandoned. The use of nuclear weapons, even so-called tactical weapons, in the event of a war would turn the greater part of West European territory into a desert, writes Voigt.

In the opinion of Warnke, former director of the American Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the military necessity for deploying American Euromissiles is doubtful. He also emphasizes that the deployment of Pershing II missiles should be abandoned.

The idea of a first strike is at the basis of all the aggressive military doctrines that have been advanced by the United States since World War II, from the doctrine of "mass retaliation" to the present concept of a "limited

nuclear war," which is being placed on a perfected materials-technical and ideological basis. As before, preparations for a strategic nuclear war and the multiple use of strategic forces in such a war are what is mainly being banked on. It is with this aim that the program for deploying cruise missiles, new strategic bombers and strategic naval weapons systems is being speeded up with feverish energy in the United States against the background of a slanderous campaign against the Salt II Treaty. In this decade alone, the Pentagon intends to increase the potential of its strategic offensive forces by no less than 1.5 times. Preparations are going on at the same time for implementing a large-scale program for militarizing space.

The Pentagon has concentrated a significant part of its nuclear warheads (more than 7,000--L.T.) on European soil, that is in direct proximity to the USSR. New nuclear missile weapons systems are being deployed in addition to these. A multitude of American military bases have been brought closer to the borders of the socialist community, and new advanced posts of aggression are being established. Hundreds of planes are being based on U.S. aircraft carriers that carry nuclear weapons and are capable of raining blows upon Soviet objectives. The military-industrial complex has done everything to wreck the nuclear arms talks in Geneva and to unleash a new spiral of the arms race that threatens the whole planet with catastrophic consequences.

This policy is called upon to intimidate the peoples of the socialist countries, to "exhaust" their economy, to undermine the international positions of socialism, and to ensure American diktat throughout the world. Even bourgeois idealists themselves admit that the large-scale preparations for war, which are whipped up by concepts of "hollow" anticommunism, are aimed at putting an end not only to the idea of peaceful coexistence, but also to the idea of compromise and cooperation between states with different social systems.

Thus, G. Kennan ranked among the most ready anti-Sovietists. But the course of world developments and his own political experience helped him to free himself from his anti-Soviet blinders and now he reasons sensibly as to what American-Soviet relations should be.

"First of all, we could try to restore complete confidentiality and correctness in contacts between the two governments," Kennan wrote recently. "Besides this, we could stop treating the Soviet Union as if we are at peace with it on the one hand and in a state of war on the other. We could remove the dead weight hindering the development of Soviet-American trade and, while adopting usual measures to ensure our own security, create the opportunity for further developing this natural and useful sphere of human activity in accordance with our own economic requirements... We could admit (and not before time) that nuclear weapons are completely useless and that in practice they cannot possibly be used without thus provoking a catastrophic strike against the country which used these weapons first--a strike which would result in the deaths of countless millions of people throughout the world. Having admitted this, we could abandon all dreams of achieving nuclear superiority and study the problem of what we could do to reduce the existing nuclear arsenals and ultimately completely destroy them."

"The peace party" in the United States includes a considerable number of authoritative figures to whose opinion people listen. Washington's absurd claims that it has a moral right to dictate its will to countries and peoples, while accusing the "intractable" Soviet ideology, which supposedly poses a mortal threat to the "free world," of all the mortal sins, are arousing ever greater concern and resolute protest in many countries, including in the United States itself. I have never thought, said the prominent American political and social figure A. Harriman, for example, in a recent interview with the Japanese newspaper ASAKI EVENING NEWS, that the Soviet Union poses a threat to America. He also refuted to allegations spread by Western propaganda that negotiations with the USSR are supposedly "always dragged out" and generally "difficult."

The experience of history confirms that it is particularly dangerous, especially for the West itself, to bring the ideology and propaganda of anti-communism into interstate relations. It is impossible to imagine normal diplomatic relations if one of the sides is going to turn the negotiating table into an arena for propagandist wrangling and "psychological war." Making threatening use of the weapon of great force and counting upon these threats being successful is a dangerous illusion and one condemning the whole of mankind to suicide.

#### IV

The world public well knows that the principled foreign policy course of the Soviet state is not subject to changes in the international situation and moods of the moment. And in the present sharply exacerbated world situation, the USSR maintains the opinion that there is no kind of weapon that could not be banned on the basis of mutual agreement with other countries. There are no international problems in general which could not be resolved by means of honest negotiations accompanied by good will and a willingness to seek mutually acceptable approaches.

Let us recall that more than a year ago, in January 1983, the socialist states adopted a Political Declaration at the Prague Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states. This document clearly states that however complex the world situation, possibilities for overcoming the dangerous stage in international relations do exist. The present course of events must and can be stopped and their development channeled in a direction which meets the aspirations of the peoples.

Analyzing the international situation, the leaders of the socialist states advanced an alternative to nuclear catastrophe in the Political Declaration and appealed for broad international cooperation for the sake of preserving civilization and life on earth. The concept of international security, to which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries adhere, above all else rejects the idea of banking upon military superiority and upon the guarantee of a "balance of fear." This broad and all-embracing approach to the problems of ensuring international and, correspondingly, also national security, shows political realism in the nuclear space age. We are convinced that it is possible to prevent a world nuclear war, are decisively opposed to



fatalism in this most important problem for mankind, and are doing everything to protect it against the catastrophe that is being prepared by nuclear maniacs. Historical optimism permeates all of the Soviet Union's activities in the international arena.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have recently submitted many new proposals. While striving for general and complete disarmament as an ultimate aim, at the same time the USSR struggles for the urgent adoption of partial measures which would make it possible to fulfill the tasks of arms limitation and disarmament one after the other, and primarily in the most dangerous nuclear missiles sector.

As far as our state is concerned, the struggle for international security is also organically connected with ensuring its political, moral and psychological guarantees. The question is one of creating a foreign policy climate which would essentially help to reduce the danger of a new world war being unleashed.

Concern to create a truly peace-loving climate and to raise a kind of political-psychological barrier in the way of the unleashing of a war permeates all of the USSR's foreign policy actions. The Soviet Union's activities at two international forums held in 1983 should be given particular mention. The first of these forums was the 38th session of the UN General Assembly. A total of 95 states voted for the Soviet draft declaration condemning nuclear war, and only 19 (including almost all of the NATO member states) voted against.

This document particularly reflected the concern expressed on more than one occasion by the world scientific community: It is impossible to limit the ruinous consequences of a nuclear war--there can be no victors in such a war, rather it would be the most monstrous crime against the peoples. The declaration condemned the elaboration, promotion, dissemination and propaganda of military doctrines and concepts called upon to substantiate the "lawfulness" of using nuclear weapons first and the "permissibility" of unleashing a nuclear war.

Second, the USSR pursued a consistent policy at the Madrid meeting of representatives of the member countries of the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation. It is precisely in Madrid that the path was laid for beginning work in Stockholm on the first stage of the Conference on Confidence Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe. During the Madrid meeting, Soviet diplomacy did everything to support the moral-psychological guarantees of international security, which are measures of trust, and of trust in the military sphere above all. During the Stockholm Conference, the Soviet Union has worked toward reaching agreement on large-scale measures for strengthening trust, the adoption and implementation of which would be conducive to fundamentally improving the international situation, and thereby to making practical progress in the matter of resolving the key problems of bridling the arms race and securing disarmament.

The resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet, adopted at its session of 29 December 1983, aroused a great response in the world. "The USSR Supreme

Soviet, this document says, "deems it necessary to persistently strive to implement proposals that a treaty be concluded between the Warsaw Pact member states and the members of the North Atlantic Alliance on the mutual nonuse of military force and the maintenance of peaceful relations; on the point that all nuclear powers should follow the example of the Soviet Union and take the obligation upon themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; and on the prevention of an arms race in outer space." The Supreme Soviet solemnly stated that the Soviet Union does not encroach upon the security of any country, be it in the West or the East. It wishes to live in peace with all countries and to implement the principle of peaceful coexistence among states with different sociopolitical systems.

The USSR Parliamentary Group actively participates in the struggle for a lessening of international tension, for the bridling of the arms race and disarmament, and for mutual understanding and friendship among peoples. It initiated an examination of the most burning international problems, such as those of lessening international tension and disarmament, within the organs of the Interparliamentary Union. The problems of safeguarding European security are constantly at the center of its attention.

The USSR Parliamentary Group made a great contribution to the preparation and holding of five interparliamentary conferences on cooperation and security in Europe. The members of the Soviet delegations actively participated in both the general discussions and in the work of all the commissions of both [as published] conferences.

The Final Resolution of the 4th Interparliamentary Conference (Brussels, 12-17 May 1980) urges the parliaments and governments of the European countries, the United States, and Canada to activate efforts in the struggle to halt the arms race, overcome complications in the way of detente, strengthen security, and expand cooperation in various spheres.

The Fifth Interparliamentary Conference on Cooperation and Security in Europe, held from 30 May to 4 June 1983 in Budapest, examined the question of the contribution of the parliaments of the member states of the all-European conference to the further deepening of detente and to genuine progress in the sphere of disarmament, including by means of continuing to fulfill the Helsinki Final Act. The resolution adopted by the conference is aimed at resolving longstanding and urgent problems of detente in Europe. It urges the parliaments and governments of the European countries, the United States and Canada to take effective steps toward halting the arms race and toward military detente and disarmament.

The USSR Parliamentary Group makes extensive use of addresses and statements in its activities as one means of expressing its energetic attitude toward the most important international events taking place in the world. The address of the USSR Parliamentary Group to the parliamentary groups of the West European countries, the United States and Canada, which was adopted on 2 November 1979, expressed alarm and deep concern for the fate of Europe and for the future of the whole of mankind in connection with the plans advanced during that period to deploy new kinds of American nuclear missiles on the

territory of a number of West European countries. In March 1980, Soviet parliamentarians added their voice to the voice of the entire world's progressive public protesting against the United States' provocative actions in the region of the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf. The dangerous nature of the U.S. administration's decision to produce nuclear weapons was emphasized in the Address to the Parliamentary Groups of the United States and Western Countries of 10 September 1981. This document unambiguously pointed out that "the decision to produce nuclear weapons not only increases the probability of nuclear weapons being used in military conflicts, but also exerts a negative influence upon the international climate as a whole."

The growing concern of the Soviet public over the dangerous development of the international situation and the increasing danger of a nuclear war was reflected in the formation on 24 November 1982 of a section of the USSR Parliamentary Group on the problems of peace and disarmament and in the activation of contacts with analogous foreign sections and organizations.

The vital interests of all states and the aspirations of the peoples of the world are met by the Soviet Union's recent proposal to agree on definite norms with which relations between the nuclear powers should conform and to make these norms compulsory.

"Even in the present, extremely tense international situation," says Comrade K. U. Chernenko, "we clearly state: The Soviet Union will continue to pursue a policy of peace--a lasting and just peace for all peoples, big and small. We also confirm our readiness for negotiations, but honest negotiations on the basis of parity and equal security. We will not be intimidated by threats. Our defense is strong and we will be able to defend everything that has been won by the labor of the Soviet people."

In the contemporary conditions, there is not and there cannot be an alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence. This policy indicates the only path to peace. Preserving and further developing everything that has been achieved by detente at the cost of such great efforts is the demand of the time.

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## MARXISM'S REVOLUTIONARY METHOD

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[Review by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences B. Slavin of the book "O Metode Izlozheniya Dialektiki" [On the Method for the Presentation of Dialectics]. Three Great Designs. By B. M. Kedrov. Nauka, Moscow, 1983, 480 pp]

[Text] Invariably, any book by Academician B. M. Kedrov on the history and methodology of scientific knowledge is always of interest to the readers. The main reason is the author's original approach to his topic and the attractive method used in presenting the material. Most of all, however, it is the subject itself that is of interest and which is the underwater part of the scientific iceberg--its method. To understand the research method means to look at the "holy of holies" of scientific creativity.

We know the great role which the dialectical method has played in the works of the founders of scientific communism. V. I. Lenin considered dialectics the living soul of Marxism and a universal method for resolving the most difficult problems posed by history, the transforming activities of the working class and the development of knowledge. During some periods in their lives Marx, Engels and Lenin expressed the identical desire to write a book on dialectics. Their plans, individual manuscripts, letters, drafts and remarks have been preserved. Unfortunately, for a variety of reasons they were not able to carry out this intention in full. In his book B. M. Kedrov has assumed the novel project to recreate these great thoughts, to trace the process and degree of their implementation and to provide a comparative study.

The approach of directing the attention merely to individual notes and texts was of little help in resolving this complex problem. Experience in research indicated to B. M. Kedrov a different, a dynamic approach, as he defines it, to the study of the scientific works of the Marxist classics, the essence of which is "on the basis of individual notes to draw an imaginary line of the dynamics of the creative thinking of the scientist at the time he was recording these notes..." (p 17). In the course of its implementation, this approach turns into strict logical conclusions based on specific facts and sources, which enables the author to reproduce with adequate scientific objectivity the creative thinking of the great proletarian scientists and revolutionaries.

The Marxist-Leninist classics, B. M. Kedrov emphasizes, unanimously believed that dialectics should be presented "using the method of ascending from the



abstract to the concrete" (p 6). In accordance with Lenin's instructions, according to which dialectics should be presented dialectically, and that the presentation method used in Marx's "Das Kapital" "should be the method for the presentation (respectively the study) of dialectics in general (for Marx's dialectics of bourgeois society is only a specific case of dialectics)" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works, vol 29, p 318), in his entire study B. M. Kedrov proves the manner in which the same idea of the presentation of dialectics through the method of ascension from the abstract to the concrete initially appeared in Marx, followed by Engels and, finally, Lenin, transmitted "like a living link from one to another" (p 462).

The very first concept of writing a book in accordance with dialectical materialism originated with Marx, who shared it with Engels in 1858: "If I could ever find once again the time for such a project, I would present with a great deal of pleasure, in two or three printers' sheets, in a form accessible to a commonsensical mind, rational aspects of the method which was discovered but also given a mystical aspect by Hegel" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 29, p 212).

In the opinion of B. M. Kedrov, "Marx found particularly interesting in Hegel's method the means of ascension from the abstract to the concrete" (p 24), which was most fully presented in "The Science of Logic," an indication of which may be found in the very structure of the work which consists of the "theory of life," "theory of the essence" and the "theory of concept." The rational meaning of the method of ascension from the abstract to the concrete, the researcher writes, "is that it is the logical expression of the principle of advancing development from the simple to the complex and from the inferior to the superior. In this ascending process three stages are of essential significance: (1) the starting point of development (or dynamics) of scientific knowledge; (2) the process itself of the dynamics (development), passing through the development of contradictions inherent in the initial point; (3) the achieved result which merges with the beginning of the dynamics (development) process, for it is only within it that that which existed at the very beginning, at the starting point of the entire process is revealed" (pp 43-44).

Hegel's dialectical method acquired a mystifying interpretation because of the idealism of his philosophy. According to Marx, the main fault of the idealistic method is that Hegel "does not develop his thought on the basis of the object but structures his object in accordance with the thought completed in the abstract area of logic" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 1, p 232). To Hegel "it is not the logic of the matter itself but the matter of the logic" which is of philosophical significance (ibid., p 236). That is precisely why he contrasts the world of the ideal, the universal, the infinite against the material, individual, and finite world. The former world develops in accordance with the laws of dialectics, whereas the latter is a given which does not develop in time. As the science of the universal and the infinite, philosophy can exist only in the spiritual area. "Hegel seriously 'believed' and thought that as a philosophy materialism is impossible, for philosophy is the science of thinking, of the general, and that thinking lies within the general" (V. I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 29, p 250). It was this

view of philosophy that subsequently led to the birth of the anti-Marxist thesis of the impossibility of dialectical materialism: allegedly, materialism cannot be dialectical and dialectics cannot be materialistic. However, as early as the 1840s this thesis was refuted by Marx, who proved that dialectics in thinking is possible only because it is a reflection of the dialectics of life and that the category of the "universal," as a matter of fact, as all other categories of dialectical logic, has a strictly material content.

There were two ways to remove the cover of mysticism from Hegelian dialectics: either to write "Dialectics" (with a capital D) in its materialistic understanding as a separate work (which Marx clearly mentioned in 1858 and 1868), or to prove the effect of dialectical materialism in the fabric of a specific study, to "prove it in action," so to say. As B. M. Kedrov rightly believes, Marx chose the second way. He implemented his thought by specifically applying the dialectical method entirely cleansed of Hegelian mystification in "Das Kapital" and other works on economics, above all in the book "On the Critique of Political Economy" (p 68). It was precisely Marx's works on economics which reflected "the most important principles and approaches (methods), laws and categories of the dialectical method, to the presentation of which, in all likelihood, the work on dialectics which Marx planned would have been dedicated" (p 72). This viewpoint is confirmed, in particular, by Lenin's statement that "although Marx did not leave us a 'Logic' (with a capital L), he left us the logic of 'Das Kapital'..." (op. cit., vol 29, p 301).

The researcher proceeds further after substantiating his view on this problem. He asks: did Marx carry out, although partially, his initial intention of writing a special book on dialectics? He answers in the affirmative. In his view, the intention to write a book on dialectics covering two or three printers' sheets was not simply a wish expressed by Marx. It was an aspiration based on work he had already essentially done and which has come to us in the third paragraph of his unfinished "Introduction" to his book "On the Critique of Political Economy." Marx's refusal to publish the "Introduction" is explained by B. M. Kedrov not only with the fact that Marx did not wish to anticipate the conclusions of his study but also that at the beginning of 1858 he "may have developed the idea of reworking and developing in a somewhat different direction the contents of his "Introduction," making it a separate, purely philosophical work on the dialectical method" (p 74). To say the least, this work organically stemmed from the content of the third paragraph with the indicative title of "The Method of Political Economy." It is precisely here that Marx provides a concise description of the scientific method of ascension from the abstract to the concrete and criticizes Hegels' idealistic understanding of this method. To Marx concrete reality, as the starting point of knowledge, should appear at the end of the study as a unity of variety, as the synthesis of a number of definitions. In ascending from the abstract to the concrete, thinking repeats in theory the actual historical process of development, progressing from inferior and embryonic to higher forms, from the part to the whole, and from the simple to the complex.

B. M. Kedrov convincingly proved that the classical characteristics of the method of ascension from the abstract to the concrete, provided by Marx in

this paragraph, is related not only to political economy but to knowledge in general. Such an ascension is truly dialectical. It presents in a concentrated aspect a logical, streamlined and actual development of objective reality. The presentation of developed social and natural sciences, including dialectical materialism itself, can and must be structured on this basis.

The universal application of this method can be traced not only in "Das Kapital," in which Marx's thinking proceeds from the elementary, the simplest "cell" in bourgeois society--the commodity--to the specific and comprehensive understanding of the capitalist system: Engels shared Marx's understanding of this method which was also extensively applied by their fellow workers in their scientific works.

With the help of specific factual data B. M. Ketrov indicates the way this method was applied in the presentation of K. Schorlemmer's organic chemistry. Schorlemmer saw in saturated hydrocarbons (paraffins) the real "cell" or the starting point of organic chemistry. However, whereas Schorlemmer applied the method of ascension from the abstract to the concrete in a relatively narrow field of knowledge--organic chemistry--Engels used it to interpret the achievements and the presentation of the history of all natural sciences, from mechanics and mathematics to biology and anthropology. This enabled him to write his famous "Dialectics of Nature," the concept, structure and development process of which B. M. Kedrov reconstructs in his study.

The essence of Engels' idea, which he reported to Marx in 1873, precisely consisted of describing the dialectics of the development of the natural sciences. This was precisely what reflected the objective dialectics of nature which develops from its simplest forms to the highest manifestations of the human mind.

The author of the book under review provides a thorough study of the recreation of the inner logic and structure of the work planned by Engels. He proves the manner in which the text of the future work developed and deepened, starting with the initial "plan-intention." The guiding principle in the book's structure, the "presentation of the material," was the dialectical method of ascension from the abstract to the concrete. At the very start of his concept, when Engels conceived of "dialectical thoughts relative to the natural sciences" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 33, p 67), he drew up a work plan in which he applied this method in terms of the interaction among mechanics, physics and chemistry. Engels systematically traced this interconnection "starting with its embryonic and initial 'cell' (mechanical motion) to the point where the development process went beyond the limits of inanimate nature" (p 125). Engels gradually broadened his concept by including in his plan for research the biological and social forms of dynamics of matter. As a result, the ascension from the abstract to the concrete leads "to the appearance of man" (through labor) and, eventually, to contemporary society, so that the "dialectics of nature" could be combined with Marx's "Das Kapital" (p 255).

As B. M. Kedrov's work proves, Engels reached a much better understanding of nature than Hegel thanks to dialectical materialism. He made a number of

most important discoveries in the areas of philosophy and the theory of natural sciences. He introduced in scientific circulation the concept of the "form of motion," which covers "all types of energy representing inanimate nature and all manifestations of life, i.e., animate nature" (pp 120-121); he explained the specific means of converting mechanical motion into more complex and superior forms; he discovered the material carriers (substrata) of the various forms of matter dynamics; he established their contradictory nature and predicted the artificial synthesis of protein as a condition for the conversion of chemistry into biology; he substantiated the labor theory of anthropogenesis, etc.

The book under review answers many less-studied problems of the history of the writing of "The Dialectics of Nature," such as the logical and chronological correlation among the various plans for the writing of this work, the manner in which we should approach the question of dating Engels' manuscripts and the presumed deployment of his material, etc.

On the basis of his study of numerous sources, the researcher describes "the type of final draft which 'The Dialectics of Nature' could have had, as planned and largely completed by Engels" (p 255). In the final account, B. M. Kedrov is able to prove to his readers that Engels tried to create a popular yet profound book which would teach that "the laws of dialectics are the true laws of the development of nature and, therefore, also apply to theoretical natural sciences" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 20, p 385). Engels' work should be considered not simply as a combination of examples borrowed from the natural sciences to illustrate the accuracy of dialectical laws but as a model of the use of dialectics in resolving the complex and specific problems posed by the development of science.

It was also Lenin's main intention to prove the creative nature of dialectics. The need to write a special book on dialectics was dictated by the age itself during which the greatest proletarian revolutionary and philosopher lived. The aggravation of imperialist contradictions, which contributed to the ripening of the revolution in Russia, and the acute political and ideological struggle posed to Lenin and the party most difficult problems which could not be resolved fruitfully without the further development of dialectical materialism.

From the very beginning of his creative work, Lenin opposed the identification of dialectics with stereotype and schematism, playing at Hegel's triade, and the extremes of subjectivism and objectivism in the study of society. "In resolving any complex and confused socioeconomic problem," he wrote, "the elementary rule demands that we begin with the most typical case, free of any side influences and circumstances which may complicate it, and only then, on the basis of its resolution, to go further, considering one after another such marginal complicating circumstances" (op. cit., vol 6, p 328). This clearly proves the importance which Lenin ascribed to the dialectical method of ascension from the abstract to the concrete, which Marx considered the most important achievement of Hegelian dialectics.

It was in the aftermath of the first Russian revolution and intensified reaction that Lenin wrote his "Materialism and Empiriocriticism," in which he



actively opposed the increasingly frequent attacks on Marxist philosophy by bourgeois idealistic thinking and philosophical revisionism. According to B. M. Kedrov, in his main philosophical work "Lenin defended and further advanced materialism, i.e., dialectical materialism (emphasizing its gnoseological problems)" (p 331). Subsequently, under the conditions of the beginning upsurge in the labor movement and on the eve of the second Russian revolution, "the Bolshevik Party and the overwhelming majority of its members needed like the air they breathed a work manual on dialectical materialism" (ibid). Lenin began to write such a manual based on Marx's concept with which he became familiar from the "Correspondence Between K. Marx and F. Engels," which was published in the autumn of 1913. "The impetus was given," B. M. Kedrov writes, "and Lenin's powerful creative mind began to work in that direction. An interchange of ideas occurred between these two philosophical giants: Marx's idea of more than half a century before that was taken up and developed further by Lenin" (ibid.).

The researcher describes in detail the way Lenin tried to carry out his idea in his "Philosophical Notebooks," starting, like his great predecessors, with the materialistic reading and summarizing of Hegel's main works. As he read them, Lenin became increasingly convinced that the logic of "Das Kapital" could not be understood without understanding Hegel's dialectical Logic. Like Marx and Engels, he saw as the main shortcoming of Hegel's philosophy its idealism and its main achievement as the dialectics of concepts in which "Hegel brilliantly guessed the dialectics of objects (the phenomena in the world, in nature)..." (op. cit. vol 29, p 178). By materialistically reinterpreting Hegel's dialectics, Lenin provided a specific understanding of the nature of dialectics as the nature and theory of the study of Marxism. B. M. Kedrov assumes the existing of four plans formulated by Lenin for a book on dialectics. The first appeared after Lenin had read Hegel's "Science of Logic" and is historically known as "Elements of Dialectics." Its 16 elements include, as in an embryo, virtually all characteristic features of dialectics. Already here Lenin emphasized the objective nature of the theory of the study of Marxism and its categories and singles out the nucleus of dialectics--contradiction as the unity of opposites--noting the universal nature of ties among phenomena and indicating the advancing nature of knowledge, which proceeds from phenomena to essence and, finally, reveals the dialectics of negation of the negation, form and content, quantity and quality, etc. Lenin formulated a number of basic concepts of the materialistic theory of knowledge, the organic link between knowledge, practice and objective truth, logic as a theory not of the external forms of thinking but of the laws of development "of all material, natural and spiritual objects" (ibid., p 84), the results, sum total and conclusions drawn from the history of the knowledge of the world, the direct dependence between the volume ("expansion") and content ("intensification") of developing concepts, etc., in particular.

After studying other works by Hegel, "Lectures on the History of Philosophy" in particular, Lenin formulated a second, more profound plan for writing a book, in which he developed the idea of dialectics as the result of human knowledge. It is on the basis of this work, B. M. Kedrov points out, that "Lenin intended to expand the section on dialectics in his article 'Karl Marx'" (p 382).

After studying Lassalle's "Heraclitus" and Aristotle's "Metaphysics," Lenin formulated the third and fourth plans of his future work. Kedrov considers "Sources of Dialectics as the Theory of Knowledge" the third plan. Here Lenin considers the correlation between the history of philosophy and the logic of knowledge, the history of the separate sciences and dialectics, and the initial and final points in dialectical motion. In Kedrov's view, the familiar part "On the Question of Dialectics" is Lenin's fourth plan and "the result of his entire work in his 'Philosophical Notebooks'..." (p 385).

However, Lenin was unable to carry out these plans, for under the conditions of the world war and the approaching revolution "the task was not simply to study dialectical materialism as a scientific method for the interpretation of the world but to master it in practice as a 'manual for action' and a scientific method for the revolutionary reorganization of the world" (p 398). Lenin preferred to prove practically the way the dialectical method should "operate," in presenting his thought, as Marx had done, not as a separate philosophical work but as political and theoretical works related to guiding the "revolutionary practice of the working class on the eve of 1917, during the proletarian revolution in Russia and in the post-October period" (p 400).

In conclusion, following his comparative study of the three great plans for the writing of "Dialectics," and interpreting their practical significance, B. M. Kedrov states that the Marxist-Leninist philosophical legacy, enriched by the latest achievements in the theoretical thinking of the CPSU and the other communist parties, can and must become the foundation for the creation of a work on the theory of knowledge and Marxist revolutionary action. "Such a work on dialectics, written today," B. M. Kedrov writes, "would be the direct extension of the tremendous work done by Lenin, the completion of which he bequeathed to his students and successors" (p 467). Kedrov's suggestion is to base this work on the synthesis of Lenin's four plans for the interpretation of dialectics (see pp 454-456).

B. M. Kedrov's study itself is a specific step on the way to the solution of this important and difficult problem.

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## ECONOMICS OF DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 84 (signed to press 3 May 84) pp 109-114

[Review by Academician A. Aganbekyan of the book "Sovetskaya Ekonomika: Dostizheniya, Problemy, Perspektivy" [The Soviet Economy: Achievements, Problems, Prospects] by N. A. Tikhonov. APN, Moscow, 1984, 240 pp]

[Text] This book by Comrade N. A. Tikhonov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was initially published in 1983 in English, French, German, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese, for readers abroad. The work covers a large number of economic problems concentrated in 10 chapters. This gave the readers in the capitalist countries first hand, so to say, information on economic life in our country. This is quite important, considering their insufficient knowledge of Soviet economic development, aggravated by bourgeois propaganda fabrications on this subject.

The book stirred great interest abroad: Its intimate tone, clear logic, thoroughness of formulated concepts supported by extensive figures, references to prestigious Western specialists who have studied our country and the calmly substantiated refutation of many popular bourgeois propaganda claims were suitably appreciated.

The Novosti Press Agency recently published this book in the Russian language for the Soviet readership. The author has compressed some parts, particularly in areas well familiar to our people and which were originally aimed at Western readers. This edition required a number of additions and a more detailed discussion of the problems which were considered at the November 1982 and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums.

The publication of such a work by the head of the Soviet government is quite timely, for we are in a most crucial period when plans for the future are being drafted, such as the 12th Five-Year Plan and the long-term plan through the year 2000 -- a historical landmark not only because it marks the end of a century but of a millenium as well -- a period when the overall results of social as well as economic developments will be summed up. It is quite natural that along with the formulation of economic plans a new edition of the CPSU Program is being drafted. A process of mental building of the future is taking place on all levels, from the individual enterprise and organization to the national economy as a whole. Under such circumstances, the profound understanding of the economic policy of the party and its tasks at the present

stage -- the main topic of the book -- is exceptionally important in our entire economic work, propaganda and education.

This book came out at a crucial period in the development of the Soviet economy. The national economy, which had previously been developing primarily through extensive factors, is now being given a qualitatively new direction. Economic management conditions are being radically changed. Whereas in the past each five-year plan featured a considerable increase in the volume of resources channeled into the production process, today, for a number of objective reasons, such possibilities have sharply diminished.

A radical restructuring of the factors of economic growth is necessary under such unusual conditions. The slower growth of production resources must be balanced with additional increases in public production efficiency. For that reason converting the national economy to intensive development became the pivot of the party's economic strategy for the entire period of the 1980s, as defined by the 26th CPSU Congress.

This basic problem of party economic policy is discussed in depth in Comrade N. A. Tikhonov's book. "In terms of its historical scale, significance and consequences," he writes, "the current conversion of our national economy to the track of intensive development can be legitimately placed in the same rank as any most profound change, such as socialist industrialization, which radically changed the country's aspect" (p 57). The author proves above all that the internal and external conditions of our development require accelerated production intensification, raising production forces to a qualitatively new level and radically increasing social labor productivity. He indicates that the further strengthening of the socialist economy, faster socioeconomic progress of Soviet society, enhanced well-being of the people and a strengthened defense of the country are possible only through intensification.

These tasks, the author emphasizes, are organically inherent in the qualitatively new stage which the USSR entered during the second half of the 1960s, the stage of mature socialism. The book extensively describes the features and characteristics of the developed socialist economy, including the unparalleled large scale and high level of material output, the increasingly broad and active economic utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, the balanced development of the economy and its conversion into an integral national economic complex, the reaching of a qualitatively new and higher material and spiritual standard of life and active participation in the international division of labor.

The reasons for the significant decline in the growth of production resources are considered in great detail. Under the existing circumstances, priority was given to the task of pursuing a conservation-oriented policy and comprehensive economy of all types of resources in all production sectors. In a recent electoral speech, Comrade N. A. Tikhonov made a metaphorical comparison in discussing what should be conserved, in small amounts perhaps, but everywhere: "...In the same way that a big river is made of small streams tremendous national economic results are achieved through modest conservation. The convincing example cited at this point is the fact that above-plan lowering of production costs in industry by no more than 0.5 percent would provide funds



for the additional construction of approximately 300,000 apartment units in which some 1 million Soviet citizens could move.

Means of saving on material outlays are especially analyzed in the book. The importance of such economies is tremendous. We know that whereas in 1965 a one percent reduction in such outlays was the equivalent of increasing the national income by 2.5 billion rubles, the same increase in 1983 was worth in excess of 6.7 billion (in comparable prices). Huge capital investments are saved as well. Whereas 20 years ago 2.4 rubles had to be invested for the production of raw materials worth 1 ruble, it takes more than 7 rubles today. The author describes the huge mass of material resources in circulation in our country. As a whole, the national economy uses today more than 5 billion tons of prime raw materials and fuel, not including nonprocessed resources; outlays for labor objects account for more than one half of the gross national product. "At the present time," the author emphasizes, "a situation has developed in which the growth of end production results based on the improved utilization of raw material resources is the most advantageous economically and is, sometimes, the only possible way" (p 85). He profoundly substantiates the methods for saving on material resources at all stages in the production, processing, transportation and utilization of raw materials and fuels.

At first we were unable to compensate for the significant decline in the growth of production resources we mentioned by further increasing production efficiency, and the country's pace of economic development declined. The author explains this by citing the effect of a number of factors which complicate our progress, such as the fact that the weather between 1979 and 1982 was extremely adverse for our agriculture. However, he proves most clearly that the main reason for the negative trends which appeared at the turn of the 1980s was the fact that the work on improving and restructuring the economic mechanism and the means and methods of management fell behind the requirement of the new stage of the country's socioeconomic development.

Under these circumstances the November 1982 Central Committee Plenum mobilized the efforts of the Soviet people for the successful implementation of the plan for 1983, the crucial year of the five-year plan. Reserves for upgrading efficiency were committed, such as strengthening the discipline, increasing exigency and developing initiative and labor activeness, supported by extensive and patient work in the center and locally. Results were not slow in coming. Industrial production increased by 4 percent in 1983 compared to 2.9 percent in 1982. It is very important that this was achieved as a result of the faster increase in the growth of labor productivity, the pace of which rose from 2.1 percent in 1982 to 3.5 percent in 1983. Despite adverse weather conditions, the 1983 volume of agricultural output exceeded the record level reached in 1978. In a single year agricultural output increased by 5 percent. This was the first time in recent years that we were able to achieve such a considerable increase in the volume of output and in meat and milk purchases (which increased by 9 percent). It was also for the first time in recent years that the railroad transportation system was able to overfulfill its freight hauling plan, which was 5 percent higher.

As was emphasized at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the task now is to consolidate and develop these positive changes in the country's

economy. This is the purpose of the 1984 plan and, as reports of the past few months indicate, it was off to a good start. However, the acceleration was achieved essentially by using production reserves which lie on the surface, so to say, by reducing somewhat losses and idling and improving the organization of the work. In order to ensure future economic growth, deeper reserves must be harnessed. This is the target of the 12th Five-Year Plan. "The new five-year plan," Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized at the plenum, "must indicate above all the start of profound quality changes in production and a decisive upturn in the intensification of all economic sectors." In this case the acceleration of scientific and technical progress is of primary importance. The chapter in which this topic is discussed is particularly interesting. It provides extensive and convincing factual data on our accomplishments and future possibilities. The author is a noted engineer, doctor of technical sciences and laureate of the State Prize. Comrade N. A. Tikhonov, who has worked as chief engineer at large metallurgical plants, headed technical development in the sector and dealt with problems of scientific and technical progress as member of the government, was able to gain a tremendous amount of knowledge and experience.

In emphasizing the great role of scientific research and describing the outstanding achievements of Soviet scientists in the areas of nuclear energy, the conquest of outer space, physics, mathematics and biology and the study of the earth and man, the author concentrates on the extensive application of such accomplishments in public production and in changing the aspect of many production facilities and entire industrial sectors.

He rates as the most important trends of scientific and technical progress production automation, the extensive use of computers and robots, the use of flexible production systems, the further development of nuclear power industry and biotechnology, the development of materials with predetermined properties, the increased use of wasteless and energy-conserving technologies and comprehensive mechanization which eliminates manual labor.

As Comrade N. I. Tikhonov's electoral speech indicates, raising the technical level of machine building is particularly important. "It is only on this basis," he said, "that we can apply advanced scientific and technical ideas in the new generations of machines and equipment. In the scientific and technical revolution machine building becomes a powerful booster of economic growth more than ever before." During the 11th Five-Year Plan, as he points out in his book, the pace of equipment renovation in the national economy will be accelerated by approximately one half and the production of some 19,000 new types of machines, equipment, instruments and materials will be mastered.

In his speech Comrade N. A. Tikhonov described electronics as the leading unit in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, offering essentially new opportunities for the comprehensive automation of the production process, changing the nature of labor and ensuring a sharp increase in its productivity. The extensive use of electronics in all economic sectors is becoming a vital socioeconomic and an important political task. A large number of micro-processors and hundreds of thousands of micro- and mini-computers will be produced in the next few years. This will enable us to increase the production of industrial robots by a factor of 7 and to undertake the creation of

flexible automated production facilities during the 11th Five-Year Plan. At the same time, computers will be used for the automated processing of huge and rapidly growing volumes of information in management, science, education and health care. Automated design and engineering systems will be developed and automated management systems will be created. The widespread use of computers will become an intrinsic part of the curriculum of schools and vocational-technical schools and VUZs in the immediate future.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures to Accelerate Scientific and Technical Progress in the National Economy" calls for taking major organizational-economic and other steps to accelerate scientific and technical progress. In this case the author notes first the need to expand the use of the program-target method in planning the development of science and the practical utilization of its achievements, to improve the implementation of assignments relative to scientific and technical progress by ensuring their support with all the necessary resources, to expand the network of large production and scientific-production associations and to strengthen their experimental facilities. In this case, the acceleration of technical progress in our socialist country is based on a unified scientific and technical policy which determines its most important trends. The development, application and use of essentially new technology requires the improvement of the entire cadre training system. In this connection the education reform, which is aimed above all at the labor upbringing of young people, is of tremendous significance.

The entire comprehensive work of the party and the government to improve the management system is another most important lever in public production intensification. As the book indicates, work in this direction has become noticeably energized of late. The USSR Law "On Labor Collectives and on Upgrading Their Role in the Management of Enterprises, Establishments and Organizations" was passed. The management of agriculture and the entire agroindustrial complex was improved. An extensive economic experiment is under way on broadening the economic independence of enterprises and associations and increasing their responsibility for end work results. In Leningrad a study is under way of measures to enhance the role of the personnel of design and technological organizations in the practical application of progressive experience and scientific developments; service organizations in some RSFSR krais and oblasts have been converted to new economic management conditions; and collective methods of labor organization and incentive are being extensively applied. We are engaged in the extensive search for and development of the most efficient principles and methods of planned socialist economic management. The purpose is to take anything of value from this experiment and to draft in the immediate future a program for the comprehensive improvement of the management mechanism, to be implemented starting with the 12th Five-Year Plan.

In this connection, the author presents in the corresponding section of the book several views on the directions to be followed in perfecting the economic management system. He emphasizes the particular significance of the scientific principles developed by V. I. Lenin for socialist production management and, above all the full implementation of the principle of democratic centralism, refuting the view that planned management means exclusively management from the top and emphasizing the need to combine unified management with extensive initiative and autonomy of labor collectives and local authorities.

Cost accounting and economic levers and incentives play an increasing role in the system of planned public production management. Today cost accounting is aimed at end economic results and upgrading the efficient utilization of all resources and at production quality. Economic interest in and responsibility for the implementation of contractual obligations are being strengthened. In the area of price setting the task has been formulated of encouraging production renovation and quality improvements. The main question in the areas of wages and material incentive is to ensure a balance between the measures of labor and consumption and the elimination of equalization. This is helped by a conversion to collective methods of labor organization and incentive.

In discussing matters relative to the broad economic experiment under way in five industrial sectors, the author emphasizes the need comprehensively to expand the autonomy of the basic (primary) industrial units in industry: production associations and enterprises. This involves more complex production relations, broadening the scale of public production, the availability of skilled management cadres in industry and the use of their initiative in the acceleration of economic progress.

The proper combination of sectorial with territorial management principles is of exceptional importance in a country as large and, furthermore, as multinational as is ours. We read in the book that a great deal has been accomplished in recent years to broaden the rights of local authorities in resolving regional economic problems. They were given the right to settle on their territory all problems related to land use, environmental protection, production of consumer goods and providing sociocultural and consumer services. Objective trends of territorial integration of the economies of union republics and different areas of the USSR within a single national economic complex covering all public production units and distribution and exchange throughout the country's territory, distinguished by its organizational-technical and socioeconomic integrity, are considered in the chapter "Economic Foundation for Friendship Among the Peoples." The author proves that the broadening of international contacts in production intensifies the process of rapprochement among nations and nationalities.

I especially reacted to the section on Siberia. "It is greatly thanks to Siberia," Comrade N. A. Tikhonov writes, "that the Soviet Union is the only large industrialized state which bases its entire development on its own resources, while exporting fuel and raw materials to many countries" (p 45). Increasing Siberia's fuel extraction by a factor of almost 9 over the past 20 years was an outstanding feat. More than 1 billion tons of fuel (conventional figures) were extracted in Siberia last year, i.e., one half of the country's fuel. Now, in accordance with the stipulations of the 26th CPSU Congress, the task is set to ensure the more energetic concentration in Siberia of energy-intensive production, based on the extensive processing of local raw materials, while limiting their development in the European part of the USSR.

The idea of the social trend followed in socialist production, which takes place for the sake and good of man, runs throughout the book. The author clearly shows the way in which the living standard of the Soviet people has been rising, particularly of late. For example, compared to 1970, in 1983 the population's real income was 54 percent higher. The earnings of lower-income families rose faster than the overall population income. The author



cites the following figures: Whereas in 1965 only 4 percent of the entire population had an income in excess of 100 rubles per family member, the figure rose to 18 percent in 1970 and to 50 percent in 1982. This part of the book is saturated with extensive factual data showing per capita food consumption, availability of cultural and household items and dynamics of some indicators of the improved well-being of the population. Over the last 15 years per capita consumption in the country increased by 41 percent for meat and meat products and 25 percent for milk and dairy goods. Still, increased demand for meat, butter and fruits can still not be met everywhere. These problems will be resolved with the implementation of the country's Food Program, the main features of which are extensively described in the book. On the one hand, the author cites the huge state investments in the development of agriculture and the entire agroindustrial complex; on the other, he calls for upgrading the efficiency and results of the work in this vitally important area of our economy. A corresponding Comprehensive Program is being drafted for the fuller satisfaction of the Soviet people's need for consumer goods and services.

The positive changes which occurred in the country's economic development after the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum made possible significant improvements in social progress as well. Population nutrition improved in 1983 and the consumption of dairy productions, eggs and other foods increased. Real per capita income increased by 2 percent. During the past few years housing totalling 110.5 million square meters, or more than 2 million apartments, was built. As Comrade N. A. Tikhonov said at his meeting with the voters, we can confidently predict that the tasks set at the 26th party congress for the 11th Five-Year Plan for most important indicators, such as increasing social consumption funds, cadre training, development of children's and medical establishments, housing construction and many others, will be met. More than 50 million citizens will improve their housing and the problem of placing children in preschool establishments will be resolved almost comprehensively. The extensive steps taken to assist families with children have influenced the birth rate: last year 5.5 million new Soviet citizens were born, or more than during any previous postwar year.

The author has paid particular attention to our country's foreign economic relations. He points out that in this case the priority is focused on relations among socialist countries. After the adoption of the Comprehensive Program for Socialist Economic Integration (1971) the CEMA countries made significant progress in their socioeconomic development largely thanks to the intensification of relations among them. Compared to 1970, for example, they doubled their combined industrial output whereas the developed capitalist countries increased it by one third. Within that time reciprocal trade among CEMA members quintupled (in current prices). The CEMA countries account for about one half of the steadily increasing Soviet foreign trade. They receive from the Soviet Union the bulk of the energy and raw materials they import. During the 10th Five-Year Plan, for example, as the author indicates, our country supplied the CEMA members with energy totalling 800 million tons of regular fuel. Exports of products of the machine building industry to CEMA countries are increasing as well: During the 11th Five-Year Plan they will increase by approximately 40 percent. With Soviet help the CEMA countries have built more than 1,600 and are building more than 1,000 industrial and enterprises and other projects. In turn, the fraternal countries are significantly assisting the economic growth of the USSR with their deliveries.

During the 11th Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union will import from them more than 60 billion rubles' worth of equipment and 40 billion rubles' worth of consumer goods.

Together with the other members of the socialist commonwealth, the Soviet Union is pursuing an active policy aimed at the comprehensive development of mutually profitable and equitable business cooperation with the developing countries. Between 1979 and 1982 alone the volume of Soviet foreign trade with such countries, which are depressed by the crisis in the global capitalist economy, increased by 78 percent, and their share in our foreign trade increased from 12 to 14 percent.

The author describes the course of expanded mutually profitable trade-economic and scientific and technical cooperation with the capitalist countries as the material foundations of detente. Despite the discrimination practiced by a number of Western countries, the volume of trade between the USSR and the developed capitalist countries has been increasing steadily. It totalled 4.7 billion rubles in 1970 and reached 38.4 billion in 1983. The author names as the main trade partners in the capitalist world the FRG, Finland, Italy, France, Japan and India.

As a result of its socialist development, our country has become one of the greatest economic powers in the world. Under the Soviet system the country's economy, the author writes, covered a distance of centuries. Whereas prerevolutionary Russia produced slightly over 4 percent of the world's industrial output and was behind the United States, Germany, Great Britain and France, today the USSR accounts for one fifth of the world's industrial output, or more than the world's total output in 1950. Our country's volume of industrial output is higher than that of the FRG, France and Great Britain combined and has reached 80 percent of the U.S. level. Its volume of agricultural output is roughly 85 percent of the U.S. level. Thanks to the advantages of socialism, we are developing at a higher pace than the capitalist countries.

And all of this was achieved under difficult conditions during which the Soviet system had to take up arms twice: During the period of civil war and foreign intervention in Russia and during the Great Patriotic War. A total of 20 years were spent in war and in restoring the economy dislocated by the war. In the last war our country lost more than 20 million people and about 30 percent of its national wealth. "Aware of what we had in undertaking to build socialism and all privations, difficulties and burdens which the people had to experience," the author writes, "one realizes even more clearly the historical accomplishments of the land of the soviets" (p 21).

The publication of this book is an important event. It describes in detail CPSU economic policy in action. In analyzing the past and the present of our economy and setting its future tasks, it instills in us confidence in the accuracy of the historical line followed by the CPSU.

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## IDEAL AND LIFE

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[Review by V. Markov of the book "Sotsialisticheskiy Ideal i Real'nyy Sotsializm" [Socialist Ideal and Real Communism] by V. A. Pechenev. Politizdat, Moscow, 1984, 367 pp]

[Text] On our way to the communist ideal we must attain the socialist ideal in its totality. The new draft of the CPSU Program will convincingly reveal its vital force and greatness and its social justice.

The historical destiny of the socialist ideal, the complex path of the reciprocally drawing together of the sociomoral expectations of the toiling masses and the scientific concepts of a society of social justice and the dialectical contradiction between the practical implementation of the socialist ideal in a variety of specific historical circumstances and the most acute ideological struggle relative to such problems are the topics discussed in this recently published book by V. A. Pechenev.

The following statement by the author informs us of the source of the practical power of social ideals (and, consequently, of the political significance of the problem): "The social ideals of the progressive classes, which express their most important long-range goals and which, in the final account, stem from the objective trends of social development, are a link between the present and the future. As the result of the critical change of reality which they represent as an "anticipatory" reflection, they stimulate the thinking and practical activities of broad masses and individuals, aimed at changing their social environment" (p 35). The socialist ideal ennobles the awareness of multi-million-strong masses in today's world, inspiring them to fight for the radical reorganization of society on the basis of social equality and universal justice.

One of the main topics considered in the book is also one of the most complex and basic problems of outlook in the philosophical interpretation of practical experience, in the moral orientation of man and in the ideological struggle: the relation between ideal and reality, between consciously set targets and real results and between theory and practice. Actually, unity between theory, even if it is most accurate, and practice is not absolute. Steadily developing, conflicting and rich practice is a source of development and enrichment of theory. At the same time, theory illuminates the path of practice and arms

the masses not only with an ideal but with a scientific plan for practical struggle and construction. It is this which allows us to speak of unity between scientific theory and revolutionary practice and the practical use of theory. The problem of the correlation between ideal and reality is a specific segment of the problem of the correlation between theory and practice. Such problems are analyzed in the book thoroughly and comprehensively. The factual data cited pertains both to the present and the prehistory and reality of Soviet society and life in other countries which took the path of socialism. The positive consideration of problems is aptly combined with criticism of bourgeois and opportunistic systems hostile to Marxism-Leninism. The main question treated in the book on the correlation between the socialist ideal and reality, relative to the various levels of maturity reached by the socialist society, is particularly topical. A certain gap is inevitable between the end objectives of socialist changes and the practically attained degrees of implementation of said objectives. Any insufficiently realistic (and, consequently, unscientific, essentially emotional) approach to the solution of this problem is fraught with serious political harm. This is confirmed by historical experience and failure to see this gap and the idealizing of reality means to ignore existing difficulties and problems and thus to demobilize the masses. Any exaggeration of this gap and postponement of the implementation of the ideals for the distant future means to instill disappointment in the masses, to direct their attention exclusively to immediate objectives and interests and to trigger a passive attitude.

The author convincingly describes the significance and meaning of the concept of developed socialism formulated by the party, which arms the Soviet people with a scientific and realistic idea of the distance covered by society, our great accomplishments and the scale and difficulty of the tasks facing us, a concept which is the foundation of the party's efficient policy. "It is a question," Comrade K. U. Chernenko pointed out at the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "of a strategy of progress toward communism, which has nothing in common with any slowness of action or skipping historically necessary stages of development. The point is that in advancing toward the supreme party objectives we must resolve a number of major and difficult problems related by their origin and nature to the first phase of the communist system." A more accurate, strict and realistic formulation of current tasks, which does not ignore the end objectives, helps to increase the consciousness and activeness of the masses and the effectiveness of their struggle for the practical implementation of the socialist ideals.

Having an accurate idea of the existing gap between ideal and reality is of exceptional importance in the struggle against theories and views hostile to socialism and in successfully countering concentrated antisocialist propaganda. It is no secret that it is precisely this problem which is actively used by bourgeois ideologues and their revisionist yes-men in order to "prove" either the unattainability of socialist ideals or the disparity between real socialism and its theoretical plan drafted by the founders of scientific communism. The latter line of antisocialist propaganda is particularly base: The overt and covert enemies of socialism try to "instruct" us how to "build socialism properly!" The author analyzes from a sharply critical viewpoint efforts to question the socialist gains and to instill in the members of the socialist society bourgeois concepts of humanism, freedom of the individual,



human rights and democracy. Such propaganda schemes exposed their counterrevolutionary nature during the familiar events in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, so that their foreign authors and disseminators are forced to resort to increasingly refined lies and mimicry of "socialism" and "socialist ideals."

Naturally, the enemies of socialism count above all on the possibility of influencing the politically least mature and experienced population strata, young people above all. In summing up the results of his previous research relative to specific ideological and educational work with the youth, the author notes the need to develop in our social sciences broader "generation-oriented" problems which would take more fully into consideration the characteristics of the personal experience of all generations interacting within society and their sociopsychological specifics. As a whole, the objective consideration of the level reached in mastering the ideal of socialism by the various population groups as well as its practical assertion in all areas of social life allow us to engage in more accurately "targeted" ideological education work and effective counterpropaganda.

The scientific study of the creation of the socialist ideal, quite willingly distorted by bourgeois propaganda, plays an important part in the struggle against ideological subversion aimed at undermining its influence. Particularly "suitable" in this respect are the Russian revolutionaries of pre-Marxist times. The bourgeois ideologues try both to slander the predecessors of bolshevism and to "prove" that Leninism and the socialist system created under its banner are a "strictly Russian phenomenon," as well as to ascribe to Leninism and bolshevism the errors (real and imaginary) which were committed by the revolutionaries of the past.

In this sense the author provides a substantially new interpretation of the socialist ideal of the revolutionaries of the 1870s, their struggle for this ideal and the problem of the correlation between "truth-reality" and "truth-justice." In accordance with the assessments of Marx and Lenin and on the basis of his study of extensive historical data, the author recreates the real image of the revolutionaries of the 1870s, who set examples of revolutionary self-sacrifice, heroism and unity of organization and true revolutionary morality, the essence of which was well described by N. A. Nekrasov:

The lot of the people,  
their happiness,  
light and freedom  
come first!...

How pitiful compared to this motif of lofty heroism are the efforts of "leftist" extremists to pass for revolutionaries: they are ready to sacrifice the lives of others, whereas the revolutionaries of the 1870s thought of self-sacrifice and self-denial for the sake of the people's good.

Although seemingly unrelated to the problems of real socialism, the study of historical data is quite relevant: it arms us with further convincing arguments on the unbreakable link between communist politics and morality at all stages in the struggle for the implementation of the socialist ideal. The

dialectically contradictory unity between the historical and the logical within this process have never led to a break and contraposition between politics and morality, although, naturally, this posed new serious problems and motivated the Marxists-Leninists to engage in further theoretical and moral searches for more efficient ways to increase the assertion of real humanism and the lofty ideals of social justice defended by the working class and all working people.

The book also contains interesting theoretical considerations on the shaping of the new man (in particular, the shaping of sensible and healthy needs), the embodiment of the socialist ideal under the specific historical conditions of different countries and in their interrelationships, the dialectics of objectives and means in the revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism, and the "ethical" and scientific substantiation of the socialist ideal.

This is an interesting book and a good basis for the readership at large, discussing the most vital problems of outlook, political and ideological struggle and propaganda, and food for further thought and research by the social scientists on many topical problems of theory, politics and ideology.

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5003

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## ART IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD: THE STRUGGLE OF IDEAS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 84 (signed to press 3 May 84) pp 116-118

[Review by A. Vishnevskiy of the book "Sovremennoye Zapadnoye Iskusstvo. Bor'ba Idey" [Contemporary Western Art. Struggle of Ideas] by L. Ya. Reyngardt. Izobrazitel'noye Iskusstvo, Moscow, 1983, 360 pp]

[Text] The question of what is progressive in modern Western art demands a specific answer: Should we accept the stereotyped system of modernistic aesthetics, according to which anything related to the so-called avant-garde is considered progressive or, conversely, consider as progressive that which rejects this trend and develops the realistic tradition in art? Such is the way in which the author of this book formulates the question of the paths of 20th-century graphic art in the West. In her answer, L. Reyngardt consistently supports the second viewpoint. Her clear-cut position, far from schematism and bias, runs throughout all the chapters in her book, on the historical roots of modernism in art, the advance of abstractionism in the middle of the century, the "anti-art" trends of the 1960s and 1970s and the persistent efforts to create false types of realism and pseudoclassics on a modernistic basis ("new materialism," "neoclassicism" in Western Europe, "regionalism" in the United States, "hyperrealism" as the latest word of avant-garde, etc.) in contrast to the truly realistic trends in 20th-century Western art.

The author, who avoids one-sided evaluations in her research, does not consider abstractly the thesis of the decline of artistic culture in the age of late capitalism. She stipulates that the process of decline of graphic art in our century cannot be exclusively reduced to a struggle and a chaotic shifting of trends and distortion of the image of the real world in art or a "rebellion" against classical and realistic traditions. The peculiarity of this process is largely due to the opposition to the decline and the rejection of the excesses of anti-culture. The more cruel and ugly the domination of capital becomes, the more acutely and clearly the movements of democratic protest are manifested. This law of capitalist development today inevitably affects artistic culture as well.

Great Western art, afflicted by the toxin of artistic nihilism, is continuing to display paradoxes of the old prejudiced anarchic rejection. However, the whims of modernistic awareness have reached such a limit that they cannot fail to trigger social opposition and a negative reaction on the part of a normal human perception even on the part of those who live and create under the

heavy burden caused by this atmosphere of false values. Today we can see a light at the end of the dark tunnel, heralding the inevitable return to the healthy realistic basis of artistic creativity. In turn, the eloquent example of socialist realism in the art of the noncapitalist world cannot fail to influence artistic life in the West.

Therefore, the author emphasizes, even in the circumstances of the contradictions which are tearing contemporary capitalism apart, progressive manifestations of culture, including realistic art, are natural and inevitable (see p 15). The modernistic trend which prevails in the capitalist world complicates the manifestation of such aspirations without being able to suppress them entirely. Painters swimming against the modernistic current in difficult and hostile conditions, reject the dead philistinism, adaptation to ruling bourgeois taste and the temptations of a fictitious "revolutionary" avant-garde. An art free from such birthmarks of decadence can become truly realistic. The main topic of the book is whether this objective is reached frequently and to what extent.

It is possible to come out of the dead end created by modernistic art. This is confirmed by the upsurge of the realistic tradition in painting, riding on the wave of the 20th-century progressive social movement. One such example, extensively described by the author (see pp 45-90), applies to the first 5 years after World War II. The great victory over fascism and the resistance movement triggered an influx of creative forces and energy in the people's masses, including in old Western European countries corrupted by capitalist power, such as France and Italy. By then socialism had fully revealed its ability to value and develop progressive cultural traditions, which attracted to communism the best minds among the Western intelligentsia. Under such circumstances, after decades of decadent stir in art, a group of French painters tried to instill life into the tradition of the realistic depiction of reality, interrupted by modernism, on the basis of the ideas of the liberation of the working people and the struggle against the oppression and degradation of man and for democracy and peace.

Andre Fougeron, Boris Taslitsky, Jean Sotreau, Jean Milo, Marie-Anne Lanceux and other French painters turned in their works toward reality, rejecting the pose of despair, the aesthetics of nightmares, the twisted forms and other modernistic entrapments. The author is particularly attracted to the works of Boris Taslitsky (see pp 52, 90-102). This painter, who survived Hitler's death camps, remains a first-rate master-realist in the field of portraits and genre graphics. In Italy a turn to realism in the postwar years was made by Renato Guttuso and other young masters.

As a whole, however, this trend in art has remained no more than an isolated event. This is due not only to the influence of the changed historical situation. The movement itself was not free from vestiges of formalistic thinking and modernistic conventionality. Its success was adversely affected by the aspiration to emphasize in all possible ways the difference between the new realism and the old realism through a deliberate emphasis on coarse artistic methods. Another weakness of the movement was the attempt to impose the concept of the contemporary working people as a faceless and childishly naive crowd. The desire to ascribe to the features of people's faces a primitive



conventionality and a kind of "conciliarism" predetermined the use of such artificial and primitive forms of design.

As a result, the concept that contemporary revolutionary art represents "leftist" innovation (see p 90) reasserted itself in French democratic public opinion. Something similar took place in Italy. The overall result of Western painting became apparent during the 1950s-1960s. It was not in favor of realism but of reborn abstractionism, something which had been invented at the turn of the century by the Dutchman Mondrian and the Russians Kandinskiy and Malevich. It appeared as though postwar abstractionism had swallowed up all other Western trends with the help of a publicity machine used on an unparalleled basis, above all in the United States. The reactionary ideologues realized the benefits which an alliance with the so-called avant-garde could bring to them if its wedge was to be pointed at socialist realism. Abstract painting gained rich patrons and the official status of a kind of a flag in the battle of ideas.

However, under such circumstances the victory of avant-garde art neither was nor could be total. The supporters of realism in art were called upon to perform a difficult daily feat, readiness to sacrifice fictitious originality and easy success and the ability to defeat bourgeois prejudices which separate the artist from the people, reality and classical forms. Nevertheless, despite all obstacles, at the peak of the abstractionist fever, a group of talented painters, who described themselves as the "painters of reality," were able to gain recognition in France. They turned to the centuries-old traditions of world art and dropped the pose of "innovation" at all cost, false mannerisms, deformations and other means of modernistic art which had long sickened people.

Henri Cadou, the main figure and acknowledged theoretician of this movement, had chosen this style even before the war, but became famous in his homeland and abroad only in the 1960s. Together with the "painters of reality," headed by Cadou and a group of French like-minded painters, a number of Belgian and FRG painters and G. Shiltyan, an Italian painter of Armenian origin (the only one among the masters of this circle familiar to the Soviet public because of a recent exhibit in Moscow) exhibited their works.

L. Reyngardt's book contains a great deal of new information. She is the first in our art literature to acquaint the readers with the works of groups of contemporary Western realistic painters, who are boldly swimming against the modernistic current. "Falsehood and deformation are one and the same. "I proved that truth and beauty are not mutually exclusive, as the well orchestrated campaign aimed at stupefying the people would like us to believe" (p 108). These words by H. Cadou, extracted from the preface in the catalog for one of the exhibits of his school, as well as, in general, the content and form of his paintings, contain a progressive and democratic principle. As a whole, however, the works of the "painters of reality" show a certain weakness and the possibility of retreating from the true requirements of art. The realism of Cadou and his supporters is aloof, as though alienated from moral beauty. Hence their predilection for ordinary subjects and their fear of resolving an artistic problem in favor of excellence in the lofty meaning of the term. Hence also, as if obeying the "law of repelling," the inclination

of these artists toward a paradoxical type of painting such as painting a landscape in the manner of an optical illusion. The limited artistic horizon of the "painters of reality," however, gives no grounds for questioning the depth and sincerity of their aspiration to resurrect the real form in their art. Their position is progressive although not free from contradictions and opposes the numerous attempts at a fictitious and false turn to reality, so frequent in avant-garde history. Efforts of this nature have become particularly persistent under the new situation in which avant-garde art was proclaimed by its former supporters to have become hopelessly obsolete, while abstractionism and the once fashionable pop art were replaced in the 1970s by a variety of "anti-art" versions. At that point the new sensations which emerged on the foreground included "photorealism," "hyperrealism," plaster cast sculpture and other tasteless styles which were taken as the indicators of the alleged advent of the "postmodernistic era."

The section in the book which describes the spasmodic efforts of the latest avant-garde movement to keep pace with reality, which vanished from its art, is of particularly topical interest (see pp 322-335). The process itself has a dual nature. Philosophically, it expresses the historical doom of the abandonment of reality in painting and the inevitability of the eventual rebirth in art of an understanding of its language of beauty in its real artistic forms, accessible to all. On the other hand, that same process expresses a reaction to the inevitability which has grown on the way to painful exaggerations and poisonous artistic falsehood. In the modernistic forgeries the mechanical similarity with the model is used as a weapon against realism, presented as a return to reality. "There is nothing comparable to superrealistic art in terms of destroying our sense of reality," the noted American art expert Gerald Rosenberg admitted (p 331).

In modern hyperrealism, which has supporters in many countries and which, unfortunately, occasionally penetrates into our own paintings, the elements of a truthful depiction are allowed under one condition: they must be exaggerated, taken out of the context of the real visible form and transformed into a symbol which tells the public that the painter does not accept the real world but mocks it, that the image of the world is vile and dead and that nothing in it is lofty or mean. A plaster cast or a dummy, combined into models of vileness are proclaimed the last shelter of the refined taste of the newly fashionable "antipainter" intoxicated by a coarse and shocking similarity between the painting and the object itself. In such cases the decisive contrast between such "surrealistic" efforts, which crown the traditional paradoxes of modernism, and true realistic art becomes entirely clear. The supporters of modernistic currents have long tried to replace the reflection of the world in art with some kind of self-satisfying similarity between the image and its object, known as *objet-peinture* ("object-painting"), not supported by any reality. In the footsteps of the pop artists, the hyperrealists seem to have achieved this objective.

The book under review enables us to gain a better understanding of the conflicting picture of the struggle of ideas which defines the artistic process in the West. The picture would have been more complete had the author included in her work a study of trends such as the expressionism of the 1920s and the pop art of the 1960s which, unfortunately, have been omitted in this

study. Nevertheless, we must consider as the author's success her study of the current situation in which the main feature is the contradiction between the imminent return of art to healthy realistic foundations and the best traditions of classical art, desired by the sober human mind, on the one hand, and forgeries of real shapes, urged on by this desire, on the other. While essentially remaining within the framework of modernistic deformations, but only with a negative sign put before them, in the sense of exaggerating accuracy to the point of disgrace, the labored "super-" or "hyperrealistic" forgeries are a somewhat more harmful poisonous weapon aimed against realism in its true forms than the old avant-garde art which pictured nothing at all.

No desperate means of forging the truth in art can shake the confidence of those who are on the side of contemporary social progress in the inevitable victory of the healthy realistic principle of artistic creativity. Sooner or later this healing process will reach the West, the author writes (see p 320). However, the victory of the realistic method will not come by itself. It will require not only the tireless concern of progressive criticism, in the full meaning of the term. Also needed is a profound awareness of the real situation in the world of today's painters and of their courage in choosing the truly progressive path in art.

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5003

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#### SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 84 (signed to press 3 May 84) p 119

[Review by I. Sukhov, psychiatrist, of the book "Genetika, Povedeniye, Otvetstvennost'" [Genetics, Behavior, Responsibility] by N. P. Dubinin, I. I. Karpets and V. N. Kudryavtsev. Politizdat, Moscow, 1982, 304 pp]

[Text] The efficiency of ideological work is closely related to the use of the achievements of scientists, firmly based on the methodological foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory. The June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum indicated the inadmissibility of "forgetting" the basic principles of dialectical materialism and particularly the groundlessness of the automatic transfer of the concepts and methods of the natural sciences to the area of social phenomena, something which essentially hinders the strengthening of the alliance between natural and social scientists. Noteworthy in this respect is the book under review, which is the result of the reative cooperation between a noted geneticist and outstanding legal scientists, on the subject of the nature of human behavior, the correlation of the natural with the social within it and the study of the complex and grave problem of antisocial actions, their nature and the means for their prevention.

The many works published on this topic reveal a great variety of opinions, the initial theoretical postulates of which are of unequal value. Thus, we frequently encounter the view that many (if not all) aspects of human spiritual life are determined by genes, for which reason the improvement of man would require changes in his genetic characteristics. Some scientists call for the consideration of ethical norms of behavior from the positions of the science of animal behavior. In frequent cases the biological aspect of man is entirely ignored, although, as we know, organic disturbances of the central nervous system are the reason for anomalous interaction between man and his social environment.

The question of the social and biological factors becomes urgent in the case of situations in which human interrelationships become polarized as manifestations of good and evil, creative initiative and passiveness, and responsibility and violation of moral norms. The book focuses on these questions. On the basis of pertinent research data, the authors have tried to describe the level of knowledge reached in the field of genetics about inherited biological features which influence, one way or another, the behavioral manifestations of the being motivated by his consciousness, the dialectics of the interaction



between social and biological factors and the manner in which such interaction influences human actions, including antisocial ones, and the way in which social and biological factors should be considered and used in preventing antisocial behavior. All of this is convincingly presented by the scientists. The clarity of their presentation is combined with a high scientific standard (the book is addressed to the readership at large but will also be a valuable source for specialists).

Closely related to the interpretation of this questions is the development of theoretical views in Soviet psychiatry. Based on the study of cause and effect relations, the authors convincingly describe the role of social factors in the appearance of neuroses, psychogenic reactions and pathological developments in individuals. Soviet forensic psychiatry considers that mental anomalies, including psychopathic features, do not determine human behavior or exclude responsibility. The pathological features of a person's mind are influenced by its content within the framework of his responsible behavior. It is precisely the content of the mind, which is socially determined, that determines the interrelationship between the person and his environment and his behavior in life, at home, at work, etc. Correspondingly, the antisocial actions of people of sound mind also stem from sociopsychological reasons, whereas pathological phenomena (such as psychopathic anomalies) which do not reach a depth which turns them into an illness, are not decisive in the commission of delinquencies or crimes.

The authors justifiably emphasize the need to turn to dialectics, for "the sum of biological reasons cannot develop into a social category" (p 292). The mistake of specialists who give a biological interpretation to mental and social factors is precisely the result of the metaphysical nondialectical nature of their methodological postulates. This is not to say that in terms of criminality there is no way to use the achievements of biological science. They should be considered to the extent to which this applies merely to some peculiarities in the shaping of the individual and the influence which physical and mental conditions may exert upon him. The authors are entirely right by stating that "the categories of generics, biology and medicine should not be absolutized and exaggerated by the legal scientists in the same manner that, in turn, biologists, physicians and geneticists must help to achieve an accurate understanding of the interaction between social and biological factors in the area of social phenomena" (p 294). The alliance between representatives of the biological and medical sciences and criminologists and jurists, based on the foundations of dialectical materialism, opens extensive opportunities for fruitful research.

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5003

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## IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 7, May 1984 (signed to press 3 May 84)  
pp 120-128

[Meeting on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] KOMMUNIST, the CPSU Central Committee theoretical and political journal, has been spreading among the masses the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and scientific communism for 6 decades. This tried combat aide of the party in its revolutionary-transforming activities has actively participated in the development of topical problems of building communism and the global revolutionary process and waged a tireless struggle against hostile ideology and attacks on real socialism.

A ceremonious meeting was held in the Hall of Columns in the House of the Unions, in Moscow, on 23 April on the occasion of this noteworthy anniversary.

Members of the presidium included M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, M. V. Zimyanin, CPSU Central Committee secretary, V. A. Medvedev and B. I. Stukalin, heads of CPSU Central Committee departments, N. Ye. Kruchina, CPSU Central Committee in charge of affairs, other senior CPSU Central Committee personnel, heads of many ministries and departments, creative unions, party veterans, editors of central newspapers and central and republic journals, noted scientists, men of culture and foreign guests.

The meeting was opened by A. M. Roganov, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Central Committee.

An honorary presidium consisting of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo was elected enthusiastically.

The congratulations of the CPSU Central Committee to the journal KOMMUNIST were read by M. V. Zimyanin and were warmly welcomed by those present.

R. I. Kosolapov, KOMMUNIST editor in chief, responded. He said:

"Comrades!

Allow me to begin by expressing on behalf of the staff of KOMMUNIST our sincere good feelings to three groups of people.

First, all of us, from members of the editorial staff to the technical workers and from the typesetters to the editors, express our most profound gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee. It is guiding the activities of its theoretical and political journal with wisdom, principle-mindedness and consistency, in the spirit of the party's Leninist general line, exigently assessing its results and directing it to the development of topical problems of revolutionary theory, scientific communism and global social developments. A new confirmation of this is the congratulations of the Central Committee which we just heard. Our collective welcomed this party document as an expression of high trust and an inspiring program for action.

The KOMMUNIST staff are justifiably proud of the fact that the publication assigned to them is the party's theoretical and political rostrum, from which leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet state continually speak out. Comrade K. U. Chernenko, Central Committee general secretary, whose articles and speeches trigger a tremendous response, is an old contributor of ours. We ask Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Mikhail Vasil'yevich Zimyanin to inform Konstantin Ustinovich that the journal's staff and authors will continue persistently to keep KOMMUNIST invariably on the front end of ideological and theoretical work and the ideological struggle and to make a substantial contribution to the implementation of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Second, many thanks to the hundreds of thousands of KOMMUNIST subscribers, to our truly mass fellow workers and like-minded readers. As we know, the revolutionary democrats dreamed of having such 'friends-readers.' In our country they developed through the crucible of the three Russian revolutions and the great school of building socialism. It is precisely the interested attention and comradely support of his majesty the reader, his remarks and advice which give us a very necessary feeling of doing needed work and ensure the correction of such work by life. 'Thank you for the excellent and strong truth about Marx and Marxism,' wrote to us Petr Georgiyevich Tryasunov, a mechanical engineer in Moscow, on the subject of articles on the founder of scientific communism. Frankly speaking, after reading such words one almost physically feels a rush of strength. Letters by "friends-readers" may please or sadden us, trigger feelings of solidarity or disagreement. However, they are always a barometer of public opinion, an open channel for feedback, without which no single press organ can breathe normally.

We adopted the rule that in order to manage the journal successfully we must always penetrate into the requests and interests of the mass readership, try to understand its situation and be concerned with the accuracy and veracity of everything we publish as well as with political, ideological and moral returns. The fact that we are succeeding to a certain extent is confirmed by the following modest figure: other than, naturally, efforts to ensure the journal's ideological saturation and content, without any particular steps taken by the editors, during the 60th anniversary year of KOMMUNIST the number of subscriptions increased by 75,000. In the future as well we shall continue to do everything possible to strengthen our ties and reciprocal understanding with the readers and to consider this as a contribution we can make to strengthening the unity between party and people.

Third, our authors--the passionately convinced, highly educated Marxist-Leninists, patriots and internationalists, people whose party conscience and creative thinking are always aimed toward communism like the needle of a compass, who deserve our warm gratitude. The tireless growth of the intellectual potential of the authorship aktiv, the gathering of the best theoretical forces, the search for new names and talent and helping the party in training ideological cadres were and remain targets of our constant concern.

Whenever we sum up our accomplishments, we must immediately recall our predecessors, the people who worked before us, who left us a major "stock" and created our workspace. That is why we would like to congratulate the former editors in chief of BOL'SHEVIK-KOMMUNIST, here present, Petr Nikolayevich Fedoseyev, Aleksey Matveyevich Rumyantsev, Fedor Vasil'yevich Konstantinov, Anatoliy Grigor'yevich Yegorov and Viktor Grigor'yevich Afanas'yev and all those who acquired their journalistic training working as editors.

On a day such as this one, naturally, we must turn to history, although briefly.

We know that V. I. Lenin, in rallying around himself Marxist revolutionaries in the course of organizing the party, planned the creation of a consistently revolutionary theoretical organ. His initial organizational plan called for the publication of ISKRA, as an all-Russian social democratic newspaper and the journal ZARYA. In addition to ZARYA, in the prerevolutionary period the party published under Lenin's direct guidance theoretical publications such as MYSL' and PROSVESHCHENIYE and issues of the "Sbornik SOTSIAL-DEMOKRATA" [The Social Democrat Collection].

Shortly before the celebration of this anniversary, our editors became interested in the fate of KOMMUNIST, the theoretical journal which was published in Switzerland in August 1915 in a single double issue. It carried three articles by Lenin and, despite the disparate nature of the contributors, it was the embryo of a truly Leninist publication. One year before the publication of Lenin's famous book, we find in it apt descriptions of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, and murderous assessments of right-wing opportunistic ideology and psychology. It was no accident that after the February revolution Lenin intended to reissue this publication. The most essential feature to us here is the fact that the 1915 KOMMUNIST was the direct and immediate predecessor of BOL'SHEVIK.

Available documents inform us that the question of having a party theoretical organ arose even before the October Revolution. In August 1917 the Bolshevik Central Committee discussed its title. The choices were between PROSVESHCHENIYE and KOMMUNIST.

The decision to name the periodical BOL'SHEVIK was passed by the RKP(b) Central Committee Organizational Bureau on 19 November 1923, while Lenin was still alive and when the hope for his recovery had increased. It is said that Vladimir Il'ich was able to see a mockup of the cover of the future journal (incidentally, we reproduced it in the sixth anniversary issue for this year). However, the first issue came out after the leader's death. A



journalist has aptly said that BOL'SHEVIK entered the ranks of the party fighters for communism of the Leninist draft.

Naturally, all of these historical details are not important in themselves or for a complacent admiration of the past. They are important because they clearly show where we come from, the traditions and values for which we are responsible, the type of bloodline we deem it our duty to continue and the principles and ideals for which we shall always fight.

BOL'SHEVIK was conceived by the Central Committee as the organ of historical bolshevism, the organ of the always curious and critical bolshevik mind, the organ of the party's ideological activities. This intention was implemented. One year after the birth of the journal, in a resolution on party construction the 14th RKP(b) Conference noted that "the idea of creating as a supplement to PRAVDA a militant leading party organ (the journal BOL'SHEVIK) was entirely justified and that the party must comprehensively contribute to the further strengthening of BOL'SHEVIK as a sustained leading Leninist organ."

A sustained organ of Leninism.... This obligating formula determines the basic content and ways and means of our entire work. Naturally, the key topic permeating the journal was, and remains, that of Leninism. The initial publication of newly found works by Vladimir Il'ich, the dissemination of his tremendous theoretical legacy, the extension of the Leninist analysis of topical theoretical and political problems applicable to the changed new circumstances and the popularization of lessons drawn from the life and activities of Lenin, his personality, style and moral example, are merely some aspects of our activities in this area.

Naturally, in order for this journal to be a sustained organ of Leninism, it was not sufficient to write about Lenin and his doctrine from time to time, although quite frequently. This is clearly realized by the staff of KOMMUNIST. The staff tries to consider any problem under study through the lens of Leninist methodology; the Leninist class approach is applied to all social phenomena. Issue after issue, through our journalistic means, again and again we try to embody Vladimir Mayakovskiy's outstanding instruction: "Each particle of dust must be filled with bolshevik enthusiasm." Our readers sensitively respond to this. While attentively reading the journal, along with it they study Leninism and learn how to be Leninists.

The editors spare no efforts, as Mayakovskiy wrote, "to make the great word 'party' shine again" along Lenin's name. We consider as our main task the substantiation and interpretation of the increasing role of the party in the course of building the new society and do not allow ourselves any rhetoric whatsoever. Party topics are discussed on the basis of the history of bolshevism and its ideological predecessors, the struggle waged by the party against all varieties of right-wing and left-wing opportunism and national deviationism, and the extensive description of the live experience of party organizations and party committees. The readers have also noted sections such as "Pages From the Struggle," "Zealous Fighters for Communism" and "Theory and Practice of Party Construction." The most important targets which the editors set themselves in filling these sections are systematically

to identify and display the organic links among all stages in the historical path of the CPSU, clearly to describe its outstanding leaders and to store and disseminate everything of general use and significance born within the party. Clearly, we are not misled by steadily feeling the pulse of our contacts with local party organizations. They actively react to KOMMUNIST publications, help the journal with their criticism and encouraging words, suggest topics and support the journal's materials with real actions.

In accordance with Lenin's behests, KOMMUNIST presents Marxism-Leninism as a unified and integral theory smelted from a single piece of steel and, above all, from the viewpoint of its main feature: the substantiation of the universal historical mission of the working class as the creator of the socialist society. It is from this viewpoint that the journal publishes materials pertaining to the three structural parts of Marxism-Leninism: dialectical materialistic philosophy, proletarian political economy and scientific communism.

In the area of philosophy, the editors take up the cause of dialectical materialism, the greatest accomplishments of human thought and, in Lenin's words, the live soul of Marxism and its sharpest revolutionary-methodological weapon. The fact that in recent years there has been a smaller number of publications on such problems in the periodical is explained less by our poor efficiency than the still-existing shortage of highly skilled and efficiently thinking authors. Meanwhile, we have frequently firmly rebuffed efforts to replace dialectics with eclecticism and scholasticism, and to lead scientific thinking into pseudoscientific metaphysical positivism. Obviously, such articles in the journal may have displeased one person or another. However, Lenin himself said that the only accurate policy is a policy based on principle. No other position is acceptable in the matter of theory.

The journal's materials on political economy largely reflect the state of scientific research in this area. We try to offer the readers the best and most progressive achievements of social science in the field of the economic base of socialist society. It is entirely understandable that our economic articles suffer from some shortcomings. Although the editors have been able to advance in the study of the means of intensification of socialist production and development of the agroindustrial complex, they have fallen noticeably behind in developing the specific problems of socialist political economy. In our view, a more extensive and scrupulous application of the methodology of Marx, Engels and Lenin is needed. We must surmount recurrences of commodity fetishism in the study of the system of socialist production relations. We must take more fully into consideration their specific nature and consider socialist economic phenomena not only from the viewpoint of experience already gained but also of the scientifically predictable future. In a word, in this area the collective has its own concepts and plans which it intends to implement.

In the area of scientific communism, the editors intend to relate their work above all to the further concretizing of the concept of developed socialism and the means of its advancement, i.e., they intend to pursue the idea which, as was stipulated at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "must become the foundation not only of theoretical but all propaganda and education

work." We firmly oppose the dogmatic rejection of the concept of developed socialism and do not conceive of scientific communism without a developed theory of the communist socioeconomic system. It is precisely the sum total of problems and tasks relative to its first phase which is now in the center of attention of the party and the people. It is precisely by resolving such problems that we can really advance toward communism with the anticipated prospect of building a classless socialist society.

I hope that the editors will not be accused of lack of modesty if I describe KOMMUNIST as the advocate of proletarian and socialist internationalism, for no organ of militant Leninism can be something else. Many topical articles discussing various aspects of the global revolutionary process and the struggle waged by the peoples for peace, democracy and social progress have been published in the sections "From the Experience of the Socialist Commonwealth," "Under the Banner of Internationalism" and "Realities of the Contemporary Epoch." The readers are offered articles which summarize the practice of the fraternal socialist countries and follow the trends in the international communist and worker movements and the developments of the national liberation and anti-imperialist struggle.

Currently problems of international relations occupy a special position in the journal's work. The importance of clarifying the peaceable nature of the Leninist foreign policy course pursued by the CPSU and the Soviet state, on the one hand, and the exposure of the aggressive man-hating policy of imperialism, on the other, has sharply increased under the conditions of the anti-communist "crusade" proclaimed by the U.S. administration. In addressing itself to the stern lessons of the civil and Great Patriotic wars and analyzing the line of behavior of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its military-industrial complex, KOMMUNIST tirelessly calls upon the Soviet people to be vigilant. It presents the true face of our class enemy which is leading mankind to the flames of thermonuclear war, exposes the bourgeois way of life and substantiates the historical superiority of socialism over capitalism.

The range of topics covered by the journal is extremely broad. However, substantive theoretical articles were and remain the basic type of materials it publishes. Naturally, this is not to say that we are like an academic publication and that other creative genres are alien to us. Interviews, essays, pamphlets, reports, historical documents and even sections of novels find their place in the journal providing that they are consistent with its line and carry a bolshevik ideological charge. We also try not to make our theoretical articles dry. The editors, we believe, have already developed a firm immunity to efforts to turn theoretical materials into a variety of diet food. The taste and need for theory, which we must instill in millions of people, cannot be developed on the basis of sterile and dispassionate texts or elementary, wornout cliches. The ideas of communism must be entirely disseminated among the masses as they are in their primary essence and form. For, as K. Marx wrote, "ideas...which captivate our minds and conquer our convictions and with which our conscience dominates our mind are the ties which cannot be broken without breaking one's heart. They are the demons which man can conquer only by yielding to them" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 1, p 118).

We strictly distinguish between aspiration to write vividly in a lively and intelligible style and popularizing simplification. The scientific approach

is the line which a popular style must not cross. Therefore, we shall always struggle against any kind of vulgarizing through which the anti-Marxist principle of "economy of thinking" is being actually promoted with a false reference to the "level" of the masses, making the scientific resolution and presentation of problems impossible. Why kid ourselves? The elaboration of theory and its mastery have never been an easy pastime. This extensively applies to a truly scientific revolutionary theory. Furthermore, Lenin considered that "the work of the Marxists is always 'difficult' and they are different from the liberals precisely because they do not consider impossible what is difficult. The liberal considers a difficult project impossible in order to conceal his rejection of it, Lenin emphasized. "The difficulty of a project forces the Marxist to achieve a closer unification among the best elements in order to surmount difficulties" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 24, p 24).

This Leninist stipulation perfectly characterizes the line which our collective intends to follow in the future.

Six decades of BOL'SHEVIK-KOMMUNIST is a period marked by great changes in the life of the party, the people and the country. Generations of editors, contributors and readers have changed. The journal's presentation and periodicity have changed. Its circulation has increased by a factor of more than 60 and it has included new topics and genres. However, its bolshevik heart still beats together with the heart of the party and the working class. KOMMUNIST was and remains a firm support of the party in the ideological and theoretical field, its political spokesman and reliable ideological instrument. The journal's collective considers this its vocation to which it is ready to dedicate all its forces.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!  
Long live the Soviet people, revolutionary and builder!  
Long live Leninism!"

The staff of KOMMUNIST was warmly congratulated on the occasion of its 60th birthday by V. G. Afanas'yev, PRAVDA editor in chief and chairman of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists, V. S. Smirnov, laureate of the USSR State Prize and head of a turners' brigade at the Moscow Plant for Automotive and Tractor Electrical Equipment, P. N. Fedoseyev, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, K. N. Khmel'kov, director of the Put' k Kommunizmu Sovkhoz near Moscow, M. I. Khaldeyev, editor in chief of the journal PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', Adm A. I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, Yu. A. Sklyarov, editor in chief of the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, and G. O. Zimanas, editor in chief of KOMUNISTAS, the journal of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

The meeting was attended by the heads of the theoretical and political publications of the BCP, MSZMP, Communist Party of Vietnam, SED, KWP, Communist Party of Cuba, LPRP, MPRP, BCPR, Communist Party of Romania and Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Speaking on their behalf, V. Benke, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the editorial council of the MSZMP Central Committee journal TARSADALMI SZEMLE, said:



Dear comrades and friends:

Honored with the trust of the delegations representing the fraternal journals in the socialist countries, and on behalf of the Hungarian Socialist Worker Party Central Committee and our editorial board, I respectfully congratulate you and all participants in this inspiring celebration. On behalf of all of us I congratulate our fraternal journal KOMMUNIST, its highly respected editorial collegium and its managers and contributors on the occasion of its 60th birthday, with an expression of warm, comradely and friendly feelings.

The readers of KOMMUNIST in the Soviet Union, in the friendly countries and throughout the world, highly value the principle-mindedness, theoretical purity and political firmness of the CPSU journal and the standards of its content and editing and its educational, mobilizing and persuading work. In all of this KOMMUNIST was and remains an example to us as well.

Historical changes have taken place throughout the earth and in the great land of the soviets over the past 6 decades. The journal BOL'SHEVIK, subsequently KOMMUNIST, which was created on Lenin's initiative but which began its activities after the great Lenin's death, was also an eyewitness, a mirror and, through its specific means, an active participant in these changes, for it expressed the ideas, will and policy of the party which has had a more progressive influence on the development of the world and society than any other organization ever.

During these 6 decades the Soviet people had to fight for their existence, for each of their steps forward, for the upsurge of their and other people in support of the objectively developing universal revolutionary process, for the defense of their homeland, for the victory over fascism and restraining aggressive imperialist forces and for peace. No communist or progressive person can ever forget the heroic struggle waged by the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, which cost incalculable victims and privations.

KOMMUNIST, the main feature of which is precisely the fact that it is the journal of the party, the Leninist party, participated and is participating in this struggle. It is this which determines its outlook, the view of society, scientific and theoretical approach and basic editorial principles. The great combat tasks set by the party determined the main content of the journal in the past, in periods of peaceful construction and during the Great Patriotic War, and in the period of restoration of the national economy and its upsurge; the journal is the party's weapon in today's persistent struggle waged for the implementation of the revolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and subsequent Central Committee plenums; the journal also assists in opening the way to achieving the great objectives of the future, set by the party.

The fraternal journals of the socialist countries have learned and are learning a great deal from KOMMUNIST, which loyally follows Lenin's instructions on matters of the press. The CPSU pays great attention to the journal's work. Frequently, it is the first to publish important party documents. The party directs the journal in the struggle for a more profound interpretation of its resolutions. It uses the valuable experience reported by journal correspondents and readers and constructive considerations expressed in it by

prestigious men of Soviet science and politics. KOMMUNIST is also an efficient tool in exposing contradictions and errors and harnessing party and nonparty members for the implementation of party decisions. The journal, therefore, is a collective agitator, propagandist and organizer and, in that sense, a participant in the superior collectivism which characterizes the activities of leading party and state organs on all levels.

The subtitle of our printed organs, as is the case with KOMMUNIST, read: "Theoretical and Political Journal." Our journals are imbued with the aspiration to be scientific and politically oriented and it is the unity between the two tasks which enable us to see to it that important political problems are given a theoretical interpretation, that mature political experience becomes a theoretical summation and that practical assignments are set to scientific workers. In other words, this means that our journals try to do their work under the sign of creative Marxism and that they develop Marxism-Leninism further through the steady reciprocal influence of theory and practice, politics and science and dialectical research and resolution of internal contradictions.

A highly valued part of the activities of the fraternal party and KOMMUNIST, its journal, is the fact that it publishes and sums up the progressive experience of the socialist countries. A great variety and significant differences exist in the development of the countries belonging to the world socialist system, for these countries, although obeying the general laws, manifest their national characteristics under their specific conditions. Within each socialist country life raises questions to which no ready answer is available; they can be resolved only in accordance with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, with a profound study of constantly changing reality and learning from one another's accomplishments and errors. Our theoretical and political journals play a significant role in the exchange of experience, thanks to which they contribute to the creative utilization of valuable experience rather than a mechanical duplication which leads to a dead end.

Today the efforts of all socialist countries are concentrated on the further development of the economy and, within it, the economic management system. We face complex theoretical problems and difficult practical matters, considering the difficult international and global economic situation. We want to move ahead not only economically but in the further development of the political system and the state socialist organization; many problems of education, culture and ideology await their solution everywhere. We would like to raise the living standard and the well-being of the masses and to satisfy their requests and wishes. However, we also want to strengthen their political activeness and specific participation in management, in order to continue to develop socialist democracy and, with it, conscious discipline which presumes the existence of both moral and material incentives and the efficient ideological education of the masses, along with strict control and responsibility.

All of this sets new tasks to our journals as well: to develop realistic views and respect for reality, and to depict the importance of the study of reality and the need to change it, in accordance with possibilities, however. In studying phenomena in depth we must try to determine both essential and general aspects and to proceed from the specific study of specific situations.

It is precisely in this spirit that, marked by a practical approach and high idea-mindedness, KOMMUNIST helps the party to educate the party members and managers, so that they may take a long view of things and be creative and initiative-minded, able to organize the work of small or large collectives and lead them in resolving problems on a daily and gradual basis.

In accordance with CPSU theory and practice, KOMMUNIST holds high the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of the international solidarity among communist and worker parties and national liberation movements and masses struggling for progress and peace. In its articles the journal expresses its solidarity with peoples of Latin America, Africa and Southeast Asia, who are fighting for freedom, in defense of their national independence and for social progress. It writes with fraternal sympathy about the struggle waged by the working people in the developed capitalist countries and provides ideological assistance in strengthening the socialist commonwealth.

All of this is accomplished by the journal in exceptionally difficult international conditions. Never before has it been so clear that the global revolutionary process does not follow a direct smooth path and that global social development takes place in an atmosphere of accomplishments and defeats, crises and searches.

Added to contradictions of a class nature are national, racial and religious problems and problems awaiting their global solution. The most important is that problems of social progress or anything else cannot be resolved without safeguarding peace.

In the spirit of the peace program adopted at its 24th, 25th and 26th congresses, the CPSU is struggling for a lasting peace based on the balance of forces and mutual security. KOMMUNIST, our fraternal journal, is a superb weapon in this struggle. Under conditions governed by a tenses world situation, the threatening policy of aggressive U.S. and NATO circles and the imperialist arms race, which threatens peaceful coexistence, the journal tries to discuss theoretically and politically the interconnection among events and to provide real answers to legitimate concerns, while strengthening in the people the belief that they are right and strong and the feeling of socialist patriotism.

We wish the editorial board and the entire staff of KOMMUNIST, which expresses the line of the CPSU, great successes in informing their readers, educating party members and public figures, systematically and principledly pursuing the party's policy and providing ideological support to revolutionary and other progressive forces throughout the world. I wish with all my heart great personal happiness and joy in the work of the entire staff of KOMMUNIST on the occasion of its 60th birthday."

The participants in the meeting approved with great upsurge a letter of greetings to the CPSU Central Committee and K. U. Chernenko.

To the Editors of KOMMUNIST

The Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party warmly congratulates the editors, staff, activists and multimillion-strong readership



of the journal KOMMUNIST, the theoretical and political organ of the CPSU Central Committee, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the publication of its first issue.

The Mongolian communists are well familiar with and highly value KOMMUNIST as one of the oldest and most authoritative theoretical-political publications of the Leninist party and the battle rostrum of the party members in the Soviet Union and all true followers of the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine throughout the world. We are pleased to note that from its very first days the journal KOMMUNIST has always been, and remains, in the front lines of the struggle waged by the CPSU for the revolutionary socialist reorganization of society. It is making a tremendous contribution to the theoretical summation of the universal and historical experience of the Leninist party in guiding the building of socialism and communism in the Soviet Union. It carries high the banner of proletarian and socialist internationalism and plays an important role in the spiritual enrichment of the revolutionaries and all fighters for a new world, arming them with the invincible ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The journal's articles on most important problems of domestic and foreign CPSU policy and topical problems of development of real socialism and the world communist, worker and national liberation movements are of invaluable scientific-methodological and practical significance in the activities of Marxist-Leninist parties, including the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. The high ideological and theoretical standard of its materials, their relevance and topical nature have earned KOMMUNIST deserved prestige among the readers in the Soviet Union and abroad.

The Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party notes with deep satisfaction that KOMMUNIST plays a tremendous role in educating the Mongolian communists in a spirit of boundless loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and an irreconcilable attitude toward bourgeois ideology. It helps us creatively to approach the solution of the vital problems of building socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic.

The Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party wishes the entire editorial staff and the activists and readers of KOMMUNIST new creative successes in their noble efforts aimed at the implementation of the historical resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee plenums and for the triumph of the bright ideals of socialism and communism, peace, democracy and the social progress of the peoples.

Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party  
Ulan Bator, 5 April 1984

The editors of KOMMUNIST warmly thank party committees, public organizations, ministries, departments, labor collectives, scientific institutions, mass information and propaganda organs and publications of fraternal parties in the socialist countries and all who have congratulated the journal's collective on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the publication of its first issue.

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